patronage from the Constantinopolitan court to the Church and powerful feudal families. Even among the few lay writers on the supplementary list we encounter intellectuals who in all probability used their pens in the service of the Despot John Palaiologos (No. 1) or the grand domestic Demetrios Kassandrenos (No. 10). Two or three (No. 8, 19, 37) seem to have belonged to the Patriarch's circle, not to mention a long series of bishops and high ecclesiastical officials. Only three intellectuals (No. 48, 55, 57) dedicated their works to emperors, and one to an ex-emperor (No. 53); true, some of them wrote letters to emperors (No. 30, 37, 40). Finally, if we bear in mind that some anonymous works of the period, such as the *Chronicle of the Tocco* or the *Chronicle of the Morea*, were obviously the products of lesser courts, we shall see that Š.'s pioneering statistical approach to the investigation of the social background of intellectual life in late Byzantium has really withstood the test of time.

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Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century. By John Meyendorff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Pp. xxi + 326. $69.95.

Father Meyendorff is one among an increasing number of scholars who acknowledges the role of Byzantium in shaping the history of Russia. Drawing from two earlier articles, "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century: Religious Problems" [1] and "Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352-1354)," [2] M., in his latest work, examines Byzantium's political, cultural, and spiritual contribution toward the Russian principalities and details its role in the emergence of Moscow as a leader in the northern periphery of the 'Byzantine Orthodox Commonwealth.'

Fourteenth-century Russia provides the case study for maintaining that Constantinople exercised "the role of a universal centre, parallel to that of Rome in the Latin West" (p. 3). The continuous spiritual and intellectual activities of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate is the key for understanding how Russia historically and ideologically was integrated within the Byzantine Commonwealth. The influence of the Mongols, Genoese-Venetian mercantile interests, Lithuanian and Polish religious and political expansionist policies, and the nationalistic aspirations of Kiev, Novgorod, Moscow, and other Russian principalities are factors which define a complex historical process in Eastern Europe. These factors, discussed in the first six chapters, provide the reader with a working familiarity of the complicated diplomatic history of Byzantino-Russian relations from the mid-fourteenth century to 1453.

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[1] *XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Rapports 1. Bucharest 6-12 September 1971; reprint in John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems: Collected Studies* (London, 1974), pp. 51-65.

[2] *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967); reprint in Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm*, pp. 278-88.

In chapter one, "Byzantine Civilization in Russia," M. maintains that the character of Russian civilization from 988 was shaped by Byzantium's: (1) Roman political tradition, (2) Greek literary heritage, and (3) Orthodox Christian faith. Even though never directly dependent politically on Byzantium—Russia became part of the Mongol Empire (1237-42)—"its acceptance of the Byzantine political world view and of Constantinople's cultural leadership represents the greatest of all spiritual conquests of the Byzantine Empire" (p. 14). In contrast to Florovsky and Fedotov, M. sees Russia's devotion to religious art and the early development of a 'Russian' asceticism as proofs of the continuity of the Orthodox faith between Byzantium and Russia.

Chapter two, "The Catastrophes of the Thirteenth Century," and chapter three, "The Mongols, Their Western Neighbors and Their Russian Subjects" cover ground familiar to students of this period. M., however, notes an important parallel shared by Byzantium and Russia concerning Latin Christendom; namely, that a policy of loyalty to the Mongols and Turks rather than to the papacy and Roman Catholic monarchies of Central Europe proved to be less threatening to the religious and cultural ethos of the Byzantine Commonwealth. Often drawn into the political orbit of Lithuania and Poland as an alternative to the Tatar yoke, the western Russian principalities opposed papal appeals for a Christian alliance. The brutal military offensive of the Teutonic knights prompted a reaction, as M. describes, "in all things similar to the reaction of the Greeks to the sack of Constantinople: Western Latin Christianity became identified with conquest by crusading armies and forceful integration in a foreign civilization" (p. 55).

In chapter four, "The Metropolitanate of Kiev and All Russia," M. maintains that the texts of Nikephoros Gregoras and the patriarchal Synod of 1389, together with Canon 34 of the Apostolic Synod, "reflect a Byzantine vision of Russia, which inspired a very consistent policy" toward Russia understood "as a single 'nation' (ἔθνος), ecclesiastically united under a single head" (p. 76). The prestige of the imperial city, a symbol of the immutability of the οἰκουμένη (oikoumene), was perpetuated with diplomatic skill and historical realism by Byzantium under a united metropolitanate of Russia. M. provides a valuable source of information concerning the episcopal elections under Metropolitan Theognostos (1328-53) for the period 1328-47, which proves that the metropolitan of all Russia becomes "the main representative in Russia of Byzantine universalism" (p. 91). Subsequent attempts to create separate metropolitanates in Galicia and Lithuania faced strong opposition by the Byzantine patriarchs.

In Chapter five, "Victory of the Hesychasts in Byzantium: Ideological and Political Consequences," and chapter six, "Cultural Ties: Byzantium, the Southern Slavs, and Russia," M. holds that under the leadership of the hesychast patriarchs there was "an administrative and ideological reassertion of the ecumenical patriarchate in its leadership of the Byzantine Orthodox world" (p. 109). The patriarchal documents relative to Russia under the patriarchate of Philotheos certainly reflect the increased political and social role of the patriarch as the guardian of the οἰκουμένη. Using imperial legal texts as the 'Επαναγωγή, the writers must have chosen such locutions deliberately "with the aim of impressing the still relatively unsophisticated Slavs with the importance of Byzantium as centre of the Christian world, even at the expense of strict canonical consistency" (p. 117).

Beginning with chapter seven, "Byzantium and Moscow," M. focuses upon the political powers which, while competing for leadership in Russia, in effect challenged the ecclesiastical administrative policy of Byzantium. M. assesses Byzantium's pro-Muscovite attitude in relation to the empire's foreign policy. This, in turn, was dictated by Byzantium's own internal struggles (e.g., Kantakouzenos and his political adversaries). Each combatant was committed to a different set of priorities. Out of this struggle Moscow appeared as the more reliable preserver of the Byzantine inheritance in Russia.

Byzantium's diplomatic virtuosity is extensively described in chapter eight, "Patriarch Philotheos and Russia (1364-76)"; chapter nine, "Metropolitan Cyprian and Moscow's Separatism (1376-81)"; and chapter ten, "Lithuania Turns Westwards." Philotheos' "very active and imaginative policies," and later Cyprian's unifying efforts against the growing sense of local nationalism under the Muscovite boyar party, show a consistent policy against local political interests which attempted to establish their own separate metropolitanates (Olgred in 1355, Dimitri in 1378). Even when Byzantium moved toward a coalition between Lithuania and Moscow against the Mongols, this traditonal policy was not abandoned. This shift, rather, shows a flexibility which did not contradict "the higher concerns of the Byzantine Commonwealth" (p. 181).

In the conclusion, whose subtitle reads "Dreams and Reality," M. indulges in a broad reappraisal of subsequent Russian history. Underneath the reality of Russia as a national state, M. sees the Russian consciousness deeply rooted in the Byzantine political ideology of the fourteenth century which "excluded the right of any nation, as nation, to monopolize the leadership of the universal Orthodox Christian Commonwealth" (p. 275). The last paragraphs echo a messianic hope that the 'dreams' of Philotheos and Cyprian, inherent in the revival of nineteenth-century monastic spirituality and Orthodox witness in twentieth-century Russia, might temper the 'realities' of Russian history.

Well documented, M.'s study is an important textbook for the student with specialized interests in medieval Eastern European history. Moreover, the appendices which provide a selection of translated Slavic and Greek sources, and a map of Eastern Europe ca.1390 compliment this study. To a well-intentioned reader the plethora of proper and place names can be overwhelming. Once one passes the first six chapters and focuses upon the diplomatic virtuosity of the Byzantine churchmen as explicated in the latter sections, he may find himself enjoying a true suspense narrative. Finally, M.'s interpretation of Byzantino-Russian relations offers an 'enlightened' approach for understanding the rise of Moscow without the anti-Byzantine bias, which has been part of the arsenal of some past Russian church historians.

The Patriarch and the Prince: The Letter of Patriarch Photios to Khan Boris of Bulgaria. By Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr.. Brookline, Ma.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982. Pp. 102.

This book contains an excellent translation of the ninth-century letter of Saint Photios of Constantinople to the Khan of Bulgaria, Boris (Michael by baptism). The historical introduction and the numerous critical notes are, indeed, helpful and compiled with obvious care. The sixth number in the Archbishop Iakovos Library of Historical and Ecclesiastical Sources, this volume is one of the most important contributions to the growing body of Byzantine historical texts in the English language. The translators (editors) are to be warmly congratulated for this fine piece of historical material.

Regarding the translation itself, the authors have taken great care in working from a number of reliable codices. Their discussion of the manuscript tradition reveals historical sophistication and a thorough familiarity with manuscript research. These are rare and increasingly unusual skills. The translation is smooth, handles idiomatic content carefully and, with no more than three or four exceptions, uses a very standardized vocabulary in expressing Saint Photios' spiritual advice to the Khan.

The most familiar text of the Patriarch's letter to Boris is an eighteenth-century French translation of the second half of the letter, set to verse and rather poorly paraphrased. The majority of the footnotes in the present translation, therefore, deal with this portion of the letter. The authors very carefully document, in their notations, the rather wide knowledge of classical and scriptural literature evidenced by Saint Photios' prolific allusions to these sources. Attention to this portion of the text, dealing with practical advice regarding a ruler's political and personal conduct, is certainly warranted, since the advice constitutes a rare insight into the Byzantine political *Weltansicht*. The remaining portions of the letter are not in any sense critically neglected by virtue of the

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REVIEWS

Christ in the Life of the Church. By Bishop Gerasimos. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1981. Pp. 151. $10.95, hardcover; $5.95, paperback.

Thirty years ago it was difficult to find any material of quality in English dealing with the life, history and spirituality of the Orthodox Church. Now two major Orthodox presses, Holy Cross and St. Vladimir's, are producing and publishing old and new books, and laymen are urged to read and study them. In comparison with the recent past, we are pretty well supplied with elementary material and with scholarly presentations dealing with many aspects of Orthodox history and theology. What is still missing are books in sufficient number and high quality that are addressed to eager, intelligent laymen in the church, as well as to outsiders interested in Orthodox theology. In other words, what we particularly need at this time are books that they can learn from, to deepen their understanding and faith.

Such a book is the one under review. It contributes considerably to the needs of the church and its members. It is written by a a man who is a spiritual leader and experienced teacher. The second volume of Bishop Gerasimos' *Orthodoxy: Faith and Life,* his *Christ in the Life of the Church* is organically linked with the first volume, *Christ in the Gospels.*

The book contains five chapters, each dealing with a basic question. This first, devoted to the Early Church is full of perceptive insights and comments. The author sees the cross, the resurrection, the ascension, and Pentecost all as "one integral divine event for the salvation of the world." The Holy Spirit "does not bring a new teaching of his own," but "He begins from the work which Christ completed with the cross and the resurrection and continues from that point to bring eternal life to all the believers for generations to come." Bishop Gerasimos gives us a mini spiritual commentary on several of the events recorded in the Book of Acts, ending the chapter with the third missionary journey of Saint Paul. He quotes 2 Tim 4.6-8 giving Paul's last words, and concludes: "This is the great end of a great man." Behind the exposition and discussion one detects exegetical and theological knowledge conveyed with ease, directly and vividly.

When he discusses the nature of salvation, he points out that the cross reveals the mystery of divine love and "the death of Christ on the cross is a mystery of God," which can be expressed in words only with difficulty. The Scripture "uses words and categories of thought to help us approach this mystery as the apostles lived it and as the Church lives it to this day." After examining some of these expressions, he adds that "the cross took place because God is Father, because he loves and cares." Salvation is given freely, by grace, through faith.

What about works? Christian faith, according to the author, is really life itself, a personal experience of God. Faith means the acknowledgement "that one cannot be saved alone with his works, his wealth, and his knowledge." Where living faith exists we do not need to ask whether works are necessary. "Faith itself is the most important work anyone can do for salvation." Bishop Gerasimos warns: "We all tend to emphasize works because it is in our human nature to want to rely upon our strength. We do not want to owe anything to anyone, not even to God. . . . Without realizing it, he himself want to become God. This is the meaning of the original temptation in paradise (Gen. 3.1-7)."

Bishop Gerasimos rightly observes that in the "Sermon on the Mount" (Mt 5-7) the evangelist collected Christ's teachings which were addressed to those "who longed for the Kingdom of God" at different times during the three years of his public ministry. To understand the Sermon on the Mount, we must keep in mind that Christ spoke to those "who are prepared to follow Him." Commenting on the passage related to prayer (Mt 6.5-13), Bishop Gerasimos writes that "there is nothing more terrible than hypocritical prayer: a person seeking to fool himself and God. How many times we find ourselves in such prayer, as we pray out of habit or in order to impress others. And again, how many times we avoid prayer and church attendance with the pretext of not appearing to others as hypocrites, when essentially what we lack is a thirst for prayer and an understanding of prayer as communion with God. We sense the emptiness in ourselves and we want to fill it with the opinions of the people around us. We are still children in our prayer and in our faith. It would be good if, indeed, we were like children." The teachings of the Sermon on the Mount are difficult to follow, but the problem we face here is to decide how serious we are in our commitment, trust and union with Christ, how ready and mature we are to "build our lives upon the immovable rock of faith and not upon the shifting sands of our weaknesses." The ultimate purpose of all human efforts is the sanctification of man, which is real salvation, that is, to live in communion with God.

In discussing the nature of the Church, Bishop Gerasimos reflects that "the more we believe and the more we live our salvation in Christ, the more we understand what the Church is and what it means to be a member of the Church, of the Body of Christ." The Church from Pentecost on has been "a constant invitation of God, as a continuation of the salvatory work of Christ." The Church is the 'fulness' of Christ, yet it is Christ who gives his Church her fullness.

The author has valuable comments to make on the nature of prayer. The language of personal prayer "is more free and less formal," while the language of corporate prayer "has its own style," and is "more formal." It is "confessional and doxological." Yet private prayer is never simply private, because we pray as members of the corporate body of Christ.

An interesting passage defends the baptism of infants. Just before reading his book, I read a long scholarly paper on the scriptural basis and justification for the baptism of children; against such a background Bishop Gerasimos' brief and succinct treatment, in less than two pages, was particularly impressive. He warns in conclusion: "The real question then is not infant baptism, but how the Church can lead all her baptized members to a real Christian life. . . . The responsibility of the parents, godparents, and of the whole Church for the development of the children's faith is great indeed." His concluding remarks summarize the whole book: Orthodoxy "is a living experience of the presence of God within the life of the Church." *Orthodoxia* and *orthopraxia* "go hand in hand; they mutually illumine and reinforce each other."

Those who have profited from using Bishop Gerasimos' first volume in adult Bible study will welcome the second volume as a worthy continuation. Material is presented clearly and within the perspective of the Church's theology and spirituality. Behind the simple style one can detect the author's academic knowledge and spiritual experience. Our only regret is that the author has a tendency to put too much into a chapter, giving it in places a fragmentary character. Yet the passages from the New Testament which he selected and presented but could not elaborate upon as much as he would like may still serve as a stimulus for questions and discussions. We must be grateful to Bishop Gerasimos for giving us this book.

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STANELY S. HARAKAS

CHURCH AND STATE IN ORTHODOX THOUGHT

In the spring of 1980, the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* published a revealing issue entitled "Baptists and Ecumenism." I say 'revealing' because to this Greek Orthodox Christian it was a genuinely fascinating experience to learn about the attitudes of Baptists toward ecumenism. Of particular help was Glenn A. Iglehart's article, "Ecumenical Concern Among Southern Baptists." [1] Though, perhaps, one could hardly find two bodies of Christian believers more different than the Orthodox and the Southern Baptists on many of the issues which concern the 'faith-and-order' side of the ecumenical enterprise, there was a remarkable parallel between the attitudes with which they entered into the ecumenical lists. Iglehart's article traces a vacillating history of openness to, and turning away from, ecumenism. He notes, historically, that the first twenty years of this century exemplified an affirmative attitude, while the next four and one-half decades were generally negative toward the movement. And, finally, he notes a turn toward ecumenical cooperation once again since the middle sixties.

Similar attitudes, though not necessarily occurring in the same chronological order, exist within Orthodox Christianity. While the official position of all canonically recognized Orthodox churches is now positively oriented toward the ecumenical movement, as evinced by the decisions of the Pre-Conciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference held in 1976 for the forthcoming Great and Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church, [2] there are still strong reservations about such involvement. Some of the most vehement opponents of ecumenism are more than just opposed to it as a tactic; they see it as a denial of the central affirmations of Orthodox Christianity, labeling ecumenism as the new heresy of the twentieth century. So it would appear that neither Baptists nor Orthodox are fully comfortable with ecumenism. In part, this stems from beliefs which are held that allow no compromise, which are bedrock in character, and which make conversion the more logical course of action in a relationship with other religious groups. The Baptist understanding of Revelation which espouses essentially a 'Bible only' position, an ecclesiology which is exclusively based on the local congregation, and the primary Baptist mandate which is mission make ecumenism a questionable affair for many Baptists. On those same issues, an Orthodox understanding of

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[1] *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 17 (1980), 49-61.

[2] Stanely S. Harakas, *Something is Stirring in World Orthodoxy: An Introduction to the Forthcoming Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church* (Minneapolis, 1978), p. 30.

Revelation as embodied in the Scriptures and Holy Tradition, an ecclesiology which is founded on Orthodoxy of faith, the eucharistic community and the canonical episcopacy, as well as the central place accorded to worship and the sacramental life, all tend to limit ecumenism except on the most formal and official levels among the Orthodox, as well.

Thus it is that major voices in both the Orthodox Church and the Southern Baptist Convention have preferred to present ecumenical activity, at least for the foreseeable future, as ventures which serve to share the faith as well as to foster possible areas of cooperation, rather than as a real expectation for immediate, organic unity. Thus, the Patriarchal and Synodical Encyclical of 1902 spoke of the desire "to find points of encounter and contact." [3] And the Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of 1920 included this statement:

> ...if the different churches are inspired by love and place it before everything else in their judgments of others and their relationships with them, instead of increasing and widening the existing dissensions, they should be able to reduce and diminish them. By stirring up a right brotherly interest in the condition, well-being, and stability of other churches and obtaining a better knowledge of them, and by willingness to offer mutual aid and help, many good things will be achieved for the glory and the benefit both of themselves and of the Christian Body.[4]

To this was added an expression of concern for the breakdown of moral standards and the problems faced by all Christians of whatever persuasion, which was an additional motive for understanding and cooperation:

> Such a sincere and close contact between the churches will be all the more useful and profitable for the whole body of the Church because manifold dangers threaten not only particular churches, but all of them. These dangers attack the very foundations of the Christian faith and the essence of Christian life and society. For the terrible world war which has just finished brought to light many unhealthy symptoms in the life of the Christian peoples, and often revealed great lack of respect even for the elementary principles of justice and charity. Thus, it worsened already existing wounds and opened other new ones of a more material kind, which demand the attention and care of all the churches. Alcoholism, which is increasing daily; the increase of unnecessary luxury under the pretext of

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[3] *The Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement: Documents and Statements, 1902-1975*, ed. Constantine G. Patelos (Geneva, 1978), p. 30.

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

> bettering life and enjoying it; the voluptuousness and lust covered by the cloak of freedom and emancipation of the flesh; the prevailing unchecked licentiousness and indecency in literature, painting, the theatre, and in music under the respectable name of the development of good taste and cultivation of fine art; the deification of wealth and the contempt of higher ideals; all these and the like, as they threaten the very essence of Christian societies, are also timely topics requiring and, indeed, necessitating common study and cooperation by the Christian churches.[5]

Comparable sentiments are identified by Iglehart as one of three signs which contributed to increased ecumenical concern among Southern Baptists. They found expression in the presidential address of Wayne Dehoney at the 1965 Southern Baptist Convention in which he called for "broader channels of communication and cooperation that will not compromise our conscience, our doctrine, or our autonomy." Pointing out that neither other denominations nor other Baptists were the primary enemies, but rather "the devil and the forces of materialism, secularism, and atheism," he quite obviously saw cooperation with other Christians as a live option which Southern Baptists should take.[6]

Thus, though coming from quite different theological backgrounds, Baptists and Orthodox find themselves concerned with a style of ecumenism which seeks increased understanding and cooperation, as well as the presentation of a common front against social evils—primarily those which affect the personal lives of people in a direct way, as contrasted with the larger issues of systemic moral problems.

Similar dynamics may be said to be at work in reference to the very distinct and fundamentally contradictory approaches to church and state relations held traditionally by Baptists and by Orthodox Christians. What begins at opposite poles of the spectrum comes, in practice, to a mutually shared concern which tends to submerge the differences in the face of the commonly held moral concern shared by both.

It has taken me this long to arrive at the announcement of this presentation because I felt it was necessary to ground the format of my presentation today in what increasingly appear to be new realities for conservative-minded ecclesial groups in this decade. Thus, I will seek, as the title of this paper promises, to sketch out Orthodox church-state theory in its traditional form and then associate this with the accepted situation of church-state theory in the United States. Since I have done this before on the occasion of the American Bicentennial, I will simply repeat these views here in summary fashion. This will form the first part of this presentation.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

[6] Iglehart, "Ecumenical Concern," p. 66.

In the second part, which articulates additional thought in the light of current discussions, I want to raise the issue of church-state relations in the light of the United States Constitution and the approach to law, which affects the interests of the Church as perceived today by conservative Christians in the United States, with a focus on Baptists and Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

Traditional Church-State Theory in Orthodox Christianity

In an article entitled "Orthodox Church-State Theory and American Democracy," [7] I have articulated both the traditional Orthodox views and have attempted to relate these views constructively to the American situation. Since the basic principles of U.S. church-state constitutional perspectives reflect Baptist views of the separation of church and state, this article, I believe, may prove of interest to this audience.

'Symphonia' and 'Separation'

Modern Greek Orthodox writers, on the theme of church-state relationships, articulate a theory which, ideally stated from the point of view of the Church, has a certain admirable balance and harmony. Thus, one of our scholars, Professor Ioannes Karmires of the University of Athens, articulates the classic Orthodox view of church-state relations:

> In principle, the Orthodox reject both the system of church control over the state and the system of state control over the Church, as well as the system of separation. They, however, accept the system of harmony and mutuality ('symphonia' and 'synallelia') which is based on the sufficiency and independence of the two co-existing and cooperating principles and powers without the subjugation either of the state to the Church or the Church to the state. Consequently, the Orthodox Church did not seek to become a state above the state, nor a state within the state, nor subservient to the state. It sought to maintain its identity and freedom and independence from the state. It looked rather toward heavenly, and not earthly things; to the eternal, not the temporal and passing; to the salvation of souls and things spiritual, and not to bodily and material things, believing that 'here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come' (Heb 13:14).[8]

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[7] The paragraphs that follow are taken in part from my study, "Orthodox Church-State Theory and American Democracy, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21 (1976) 400-19.

[8] Ioannes Karmires, *Συμβολή εἰς τό πρόβλημα τῶν σχέσεων Ἐκκλησίας καί πολιτειας ἐξ ἐπόψεως Ὀρθοδόξου* (Athens, 1972), p. 17.

This oft repeated view[9] is based on the view that the Holy Trinity is the author and creator of both the Church and the state for different, though essential, purposes. Ethicist Panagiotes Demetropoulos expresses the Orthodox view regarding these duties. As far as the state is concerned, it has responsibility for:

> ...the care for 'the things outside the Church' in harmony with the Christian spirit, parallel to the bishops, whose authority is directed to the things 'within the Church.' But since the 'things outside the Church,' as well as the things 'inside the Church,' are things which concern one and the same people, these people thus become the object of the care and concern of both, of the bishop of things outside and the bishop of things inside the Church, that is, the political and ecclesiastical leaders. Both, each in his own sphere, serve one and the same people who are, for both leaders, 'the people of God' and whose material and spiritual well-being is the center of their concern.[10]

This is, therefore, not a 'two-swords' theory of conflicting powers, but an organic one in which the crucial factor is what we might call today the 'shared constituency' of both. At the same time, however, each also serves the interests of the other: the Church provides unity of faith and cohesion for the empire, assuring its strength and perpetuation; and the state provides protection, resources, and assistance for the work of the Church.

The theory never found complete and uncontradicted application in the more than one-thousand-year history of Byzantium. Historically, most of the violations of the spirit and letter of the 'symphonia' theory were by the state at the expense of the Church. Yet, in many of the most crucial issues, such as the iconoclastic controversy and the forced unions with Rome, the Church eventually emerged supreme and outlived its relationship with the Byzantine State. Subsequent church-state relations in various Orthodox countries were to provide a highly variegated pattern of church-state relations, only a few of which were able to approach the 'symphonia' ideal at all.

In placing next to this view the American (and Baptist) separation-of church-and-state perspective, there is much less need to detail the position for this audience. It is clear that the religious plurality of the nation's population, coupled with the view of colonial America as a haven for those seeking religious liberty, was determinative in the formation of the

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[9] Chrestos Androutsos, *Σύστημα ἠθικῆς*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1964), pp. 359-60; Panagiotes Demetropoulos, *Σχέσεις Ἐκκλησίας καί πολιτείας* (Athens, 1966), pp. 7-8, and «Πολιτεία,» in *Θρησκευτική καί ἠθική ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 10, 497-505; Vasileios Antoniades, *Ἐγχειρίδιον κατά Χριστόν ἠθικῆς* (Constantinople, 1927), 2, pp. 277-83.

[10] Demetropoulos, *Σχέσεις*, p. 6.

'separation' theory. James Madison's 1785 "Memorial and Remonstrance" articulated the arguments for the separation of church and state.[11]

There is no need to delineate the contents of this important document. In the context in which we find ourselves, its spirit can be articulated just as well in the light of familiar, traditional Baptist ideas which eschew church establishment and seek a clear separation of church and state. E. Glenn Hinson summarizes the position well in his most interesting study on the pragmatic ecumenism of the early Baptist missionary, William Carey:

> The heartbeat of Baptist tradition is voluntarism. The voluntarist note, though occasionally muffled even within the Baptist camp, has sounded throughout Baptist history. Baptists originated, we must remember, out of the Puritan-concern for heart religion manifested in reformed life-style and social demeanor. They stood on the left wing of the Puritan movement, the Separatist wing, however, in their unwillingness to wait for reform either by the crown or by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In their own congregations they assumed responsibility for reform. When pressured to conform to the worship prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, they paid the price of non-conformity and dissent. Ever after—in England, America, and elsewhere—they have kept a watchful eye on efforts either to prescribe or proscribe religious faith and practice.[12]

The last of these sentences clearly reminds the reader of the clauses of the Constitution of the United States which have come to be known in the discussions as the 'Establishment' and the 'Free Exercise' Provisions regarding church and state relations.

Elements of 'Symphonia' Theory in a 'Separation' Context

As wholes, the 'symphonia' theory and the 'separation' theory are irreconcilably opposed to each other. However, when elements of the 'symphonia' theory are viewed in isolation, it is possible to relate these elements to the system of separation of church and state in a way which can give ethical direction to those coming out of a traditional Orthodox position as they seek to function in a 'separation' context such as that found in America.

As a preliminary, however, it must be noted that though the 'symphonia' view was formulated with an emperor in mind as the historical embodiment of state power, nothing in Orthodox church-state theory dictates a particular form of government for the state. Russian theologian Sergius Bulgakov has said it well and representatively:

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[11] Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, *Church and State in the United States*, rev. one-volume ed. (New York, 1964), p. 55.

[12] E. Glenn Hinson, "William Carey and Ecumenical Pragmatism," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 17 (1980) 81-88.

> There is no inner and unchangeable bond between Orthodoxy and any particular system of government....We repeat, there is no dogmatic bond between Orthodoxy and any partiuclar political system. Orthodoxy is free, and it does not exclusively serve any political establishment. It possesses a religious ideal—a political one—of the sanctification of political power. It does not hold to the ideal of the two swords, nor to the ideal of an ecclesiastical state, such as the Papal State, which Catholicism is not able to renounce. Orthodoxy accepts neither papalcaesarism nor caesaropapism.[13]

But "the sanctification of political power" still remains a part of the doctrine of 'symphonia.' The Church's perspective of the view of 'symphonia' stands up in history much more successfully than does the imperial view. It is basically an incarnational approach which is espoused by the Church's understanding of 'symphonia.' The Church is, in a sense, "incarnated" in the world just as her Lord was (Jn 1, and Jn 17). The message of the Church remains unchanging, but the world in which it is incarnated and which it seeks to sanctify is constantly changing. To fulfill its tasks the Church must seek to sanctify all worldly forms and transfigure, so to speak, the inner spirit and 'soul' of those forms, yet like the divine nature of Christ, remain in essence unchanged and inviolate.

In this view, Orthodoxy sees itself as being perpetually 'incarnated' in concrete, historically-embodied, political, and social realities without identifying itself with those forms. In the words of Greek theologian Panagiotes Nellas:

> That which it cannot do is to become itself an 'establishment.' It can co-exist with and inspire any kind of political system, but it can never become a political party or program. The purpose of the Church is to take on all of the forms, to enter into all historical guises—for that is the ontological consequence of incarnation—so as to drive away evil (the devil) and to fill all historical realities with the spirit. But this is diametrically opposed to the Church becoming one of those realities itself. This would mean not the taking on of the flesh and its transfiguration, but its own transformation into that which it is not.[14]

The fact that this, in history, has been only imperfectly accomplished, even in Byzantium, provides, remarkably, a certain freedom for Orthodoxy to seek out ways to embody its ideal in all situations. The encounter with church-state separation in the United States leads to an exploration of the tradition for common points which may prove of mutual interest and support. Among these common points are the following:

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[13] Sergius Bulgakov, «Ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία καί τό Κράτος,» *Σύνορο* 40 (1966-67) 284.

[14] Panagiotes Nellas, «Τρεῖς βιβλικές προϋποθέσεις γιά τήν προσέγγιση τοῦ θέματος τῆς πολιτικῆς,» *Σύνορο* 40 (1966-67) 295.

(1) *The identity of the source.* In the 'symphonia' theory the source of both church and state is God. In American views of the state and nation there is an equally strong and widely held view that America enjoys a special divinely given position. Thus, for example, the view of America as a new Israel and a new 'promised land' can be found among descendents of the early colonists, as well as among recent immigrants. There are contrary secularist views, of course. But, pragmatically speaking, there are fewer more congenial environments to be found in the world today for the Church than in America.

(2) *Independence and sufficiency of both church and state.* As we have seen, the 'symphonia' theory rejects an identification of church and state, and calls for their independence and self-sufficiency in a relationship of mutuality. In general, the system of church-state separation in the United States affirms a similar independence of the two in an atmosphere of mutual respect, not of antagonism, either in content or in purpose.

(3) *The identity of the constituency.* The doctrine of 'symphonia,' as we have seen, has a fundamental presupposition—that the citizens of the state are of one faith or are sufficiently dominant in numbers so that the national life is determined, by and large, by them. The religious pluralism in the United States makes this presupposition and any Orthodox view of church-state relations impossible. Thus, a 'rethinking' is required if there is to be a functional Orthodox Christian approach to this issue. Orthodoxy, it would seem, can make the adjustment if its own identity with the nation becomes sufficiently broad and deep so that the concerns of the Church for the state transcend its own membership and seek the welfare of the whole people. It must be admitted that this is not the same as the identity of constituency as presupposed by the 'symphonia' theory. Yet, if Orthodox Christianity can learn to speak to the nation as a whole, to concern itself with the common problems of the people of this country, if it can seek to become, at least in part and in some measure, the 'soul' of the nation, it will have made great strides in overcoming that inapplicability. To some degree it has already begun that effort.[15] This may not be a diminuation of the constituency aspect,

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[15] See, for example, my studies, "Social Concern and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 377-408; "Orthodox Social Conscience, Archbishop Iakovos: A Modern Case," *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia*, ed. Demetrios J. Constantelos (Brookline, Ma., 1981); and my forthcoming book, *Let Mercy Abound* (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982). All these refer to the expression of social concern in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the U.S.A. Similar expressions may also be found in the statements issued by the largest of the three Russian-rooted Orthodox jurisdic-

but, in fact, a broadening of it in the moral, cultural spheres in terms of a more universal application of the Christian values of justice, the struggle against social and personal evil, human dignity, the protection of personal freedom and rights, the promotion of the sense of responsible citizenship and mutual love.

(4) *Emperor and patriarch.* The figures of the emperor and the patriarch loom large in the classic formulations of the 'symphonia' theory. Both embody, in some way, the whole of state and ecclesial power and authority. However, the situation in which we find ourselves has relocated this authority. In the democratic system the responsibilities and duties of the long-gone emperor are vested in the people. And the reassertion of traditional, Orthodox, ecclesiological emphases on the responsibilities of the clergy and laity as the corporate body of Christ converge, so that the gulf between the governed and those who govern on the one side, and the gulf between the clergy and the laity on the other, is minimized. And in the process resonances of the identity of the constituency begin to reappear. Thus, Nellas comments on the application of this development to the issue of church-state relations, especially from the perspective of the Church's approach to the state:

> The Church channels its own life to the political organism through its faithful members—who are concurrently members of the state. Without identifying itself with it, the Church meets the state in the persons of its members; and it influences the state not directly as a social system, but indirectly, organically....The Church, as the timeless kingdom of God, sends to the historical realities its anointed bearers of the Spirit whose purpose it is to transmit the Spirit everywhere and light the fires of pentecost in all corners of the earth. Prophets, kings, and priests, the faithful are called to transform all of the historical realities in which they participate into 'expressions of the rational worship of God.'[16]

(5) *Methods of relationship.* The indirect method of influencing the body politic by the actions of believers as citizens is not the only method for effectuating Christian influence on the state. In Byzantium the Church was much more vigorous than that. Its vision of the kingdom served to prompt the state to function "towards greater humanity."[17]

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tions variously known as the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America, the Metropolia, and/or the Orthodox Church in America. See *The Orthodox Church*, the monthly newspaper of this jurisdiction. Similar, though less extensive, statements may be found in *The Word* of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese and in the publications of some of the smaller jurisdictions, such as the Romanian Orthodox Missionary Archdiocese and the American Carpatho-Russian Greek Catholic Diocese in the U.S.A.

[16] Nellas, «Τρεῖς βιβλικές προϋποθέσεις», *Σύνορο* 40 (1966-67) 295.

[17] Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), p. 21.

And it did this by influencing imperial legislation by lobbying for its causes. From the time of Eusebios of Caesaria, Christians have sought to 'whisper in the ear of the emperor,' and this whispering was effective. Imperial laws were slowly, yet systematically, modified to embody more and more Christian values and ethical insights. Of course, it never could, nor did, overturn injustice and immorality completely; but it did have an ameliorating effect.[18]

The modern analogies to 'whispering in the ear of the emperor' are educational advocacy and lobbying efforts which contribute to the adoption of legislation in the democratic process. A line, however, between these activities and partisan politics is generally accepted among the Orthodox today. One of the well-known Orthodox ethicists of our day, George Mantzarides, has put it thusly:

> The faithful, as members of society, will naturally be interested in the problems of their country and will expend effort to respond to those problems and seek their resolution either as responsible citizens or as representatives or agents of state authority. That, of course, means their direct or indirect participation in partisan politics. This, however, does not justify in any manner the participation of the Church itself in any political groupings, or the identification of the Christian name with any political party....The Church is never identified with any reality of 'this world'. Any reality of this world may be included within the sphere of the Church, but it may not represent the Church.....[The Church], free from any worldly bond, is able to act and move as a uniting principle above the various divisions and distinctions of man. Consequently, its social mission is unique and irreplaceable.[19]

We thus have seen five elements of the Orthodox Christian theory of 'symphonia' which are amenable to some reinterpretation and application to the American situation. The Orthodox Christian can comfortably see America as having a constitution from God; can quite conscientiously support the independence of church and state, both as an American and as an Orthodox Christian; can recognize the responsibility of the Orthodox Christian faith for the whole of the American people; can see in the laity of the church the chief agent for the exercise of spiritual influence on the state; and, finally, can engage in attempts at influencing legislation and the ethos of the country, while maintaining a stance 'above' the common party politics.

[18] Panagiotes Demetropoulos, *Ἡ πίστις τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας ὡς κανών τῆς ζωῆς καί ὁ κόσμος* (Athens, 1959).

[19] George Mantzarides, *Χριστιανική ἠθική: πανεπιστημιακαί παραδόσεις* (Thessalonike, 1975), pp. 249-51.

Orthodox Christianity and American Public Issues: Religiously Inspired Political Activity

If the previous section rings true for Orthodox Christians, there should be some evidence of concern for the American social and moral fabric and, in particular, some evidence which points to a consciousness of a moral relationship of church and state. The critical question arises in terms of the extent of this involvement. Nothing has raised this question more clearly and sharply as the Moral Majority has. It seemed appropriate to me at this gathering that an Orthodox comment on the Moral Majority movement which is led by, and receives much force (as well as much criticism) from, Baptists (both Southern and Independent) would be appropriate. So, in this section I will present some information on a developing Eastern, and particularly Greek Orthodox, involvement in public moral questions with a focus on the stance of the Orthodox Church in terms of its relationship to the state. Then I will address the phenomenon of the Moral Majority with an eye to its evaluation from an Eastern Orthodox position and with reference to the constitutional background out of which the whole issue of church-state relations arises.

Greek Orthodox Social Concern and Church-State Relations during the Last Quarter-Century

Some recent research has traced the rise of social concern in the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas during the past quarter-century. The study focuses primarily on three sources: the encyclicals of Archbishop Iakovos, the keynote addresses of the Archbishop at the biennial clergy-laity congresses of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, and the decisions of the moral and social issues comittees of the congresses. A chronological study of these sources shows a development of outreach and concern which has grown over the years.[20]

In his description of Eastern Orthodoxy in America, Martin Marty presents a not-too-flattering picture of Orthodoxy. Speaking of our earlier immigration history, he says: "...the Orthodox churches seemed so 'un-American,' or at least unfamiliar. The incense was thick. People stood through long services. Foreign languages (other than Latin, which somehow seemed acceptable) were used. No one seemed to understand what was going on. There was much kissing of books and icons, and there were funny robes and beards and other alienating images." [21] Like many immigrant groups, the desire to take a full part in the life of this land contributed to adaptations in style and form among the Greek and other Orthodox peoples. Sociologists of Greek immigration, however, tend to separate an accommodation to the American scene from a true assimilation into the society.[22] The Greek Orthodox, until a short time ago, tended to remain aloof from the social problems of the day and to maintain an essentially uninvolved, though respectful, attitude toward the state. Marty is historically correct when he characterizes Orthodoxy as "a faith that does less than many Western ones so far as activity and activism is concerned." There is a measure of truth, too, in the concluding lines of his treatment of Orthodoxy:

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[20] See note 15 above.

[21] *Our Faiths: A Presentation of American Churches*, ed. Martin E. Marty (Royal Oak, Mich., 1976), pp. 196-205.

> Orthodoxy seems serenely to ignore the modern impulse; it hardly seems to occur to anyone to do any adapting. Of course, subtle adaptation goes on all the time. There are pressures for more dramatic change in today's Orthodoxy. But if it comes to terms with the present and looks to the future, it will do so only in a supreme confidence that the proper framework for Christian life comes from the past and is a precious inheritance not to be tampered with lightly.[23]

It would appear that the last quarter-decade in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese has precisely borne out Marty's insight. Under Archbishop Iakovos, the Greek Orthodox have received a powerful impetus "to come to terms with the present and to look to the future," to use Marty's term. And he is equally right that this course has been carved out in the "confidence that the proper framework for Christian life comes from the past." Both the encyclicals and the keynote addresses draw on the ancient and traditional Orthodox concern with philanthropy and public life as expressed in the Byzantine Empire which lasted from 323 to 1453, a period of over eleven centuries.[24] Their purpose, inasmuch as they refer to the relating of Orthodox Christian values to the public domain and to issues of moral and social concern, seems to have been to revivify that ancient tradition, which had, in fact, become dormant because of historical circumstances. As far as the Greek Orthodox were concerned, the five hundred years of oppression under the Ottoman Turks put the people and the Church in a 'survival mode' which made any kind of outreach mission, social concern, or constructive church-state relations an impossibility. Evidence that the dormant concerns in social issues has, in fact, been revived, at least in some measure, is to be seen in the adopted decisions of the Social and Moral Committee of the clergy-laity congresses since the beginning of Archbishop Iakovos' hierarchical service to the Church in the Americas. This is neither the place nor the appropriate time to trace in detail this upsurge in Orthodox concern for public issues. But a table of topics dealt with in some way or another by the various clergy-laity congresses from the seventeenth in 1964 to the twenty-fifth in 1980 may serve to illustrate this trend.[25]

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[22] See Charles C. Moskos, Jr., *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, especially Chapter 7, "The Sociology of Greek Americans" (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1980).

[23] Ibid., p. 200.

[24] Demetrios Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968).

1. *Parish-Oriented Decisions*
   a. Social and Moral Issues in Parish Life
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
      22nd Clergy-Laity Congress—1974
      23rd Clergy-Laity Congress—1976
      24th Clergy-Laity Congress—1978
      25th Clergy-Laity Congress—1980
   b. Church and Spiritual Issues
      18th Clergy-Laity Congress—1966
   c. Individual Employment and Orthodox Identity
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
   d. Fund-Raising
   e. Immigration
      19th Clergy-Laity Congress—1968
2. *Social Concern Organization and Implementation*
   a. Social Consciousness Development
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
      22nd Clergy-Laity Congress—1974
      24th Clergy-Laity Congress—1978
   b. Office of Social Concerns
      20th Clergy-Laity Congress—1970
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
   c. Social Action
      18th Clergy-Laity Congress—1966
      24th Clergy-Laity Congress—1978
3. *Issues Primarily Concerned with Public Morality*
   a. Moral Disintegration—Secularism
      18th Clergy-Laity Congress—1966
      19th Clergy-Laity Congress—1968
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
   b. Civil Rights—Race Relations—Underprivileged
      17th Clergy-Laity Congress—1964
      18th Clergy-Laity Congress—1966
      20th Clergy-Laity Congress—1970
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
   c. Women's Concerns
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
      25th Clergy-Laity Congress—1980
   d. Human Rights/Human Dignity
      18th Clergy-Laity Congress—1966
      19th Clergy-Laity Congress—1968
      24th Clergy-Laity Congress—1978
      25th Clergy-Laity Congress—1980
   e. Family Life
      18th Clergy-Laity Congress—1966
      21st Clergy-Laity Congress—1972
      24th Clergy-Laity Congress—1978
      25th Clergy-Laity Congress—1980

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[25] The material which follows will be included in my forthcoming publication, *Let Mercy Abound.* See note 15 above.

f. Pornography
   20th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1970
   24th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1978
g. Homosexuality
   21st Clergy-Laity Congress – 1972
   23rd Clergy-Laity Congress – 1976
   24th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1978
h. Abortion
   20th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1970
   22nd Clergy-Laity Congress – 1974
   23rd Clergy-Laity Congress – 1976
   24th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1978
   25th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1980
i. Alcoholism and Drug Abuse
   18th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1966
   20th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1970
   23rd Clergy-Laity Congress – 1976
   24th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1978
j. Crime and Juvenile Delinquency
   18th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1966
   19th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1968
   20th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1970
   21st Clergy-Laity Congress – 1972
k. World Peace – War – Arms Race
   18th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1966
   19th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1968
   20th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1970
   21st Clergy-Laity Congress – 1972
   24th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1978
   25th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1980
l. Civil Disobedience – The Draft and the Law
   19th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1968
   21st Clergy-Laity Congress – 1972
m. Mass Media
   19th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1968
n. Ecology
   20th Clergy-Laity Congress – 1970

The event which catapulted the Church and the Greek-American community into the public sphere in a decidedly political way was the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Moskos describes the reaction:

> ...all elements in Greek America were equally angered by the 'tilt' toward Turkey brought about by President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus generated a political mobilization of the Greek-American community never before seen. Greek-American pressure was exerted on Congress to prohibit the transfer of American arms to Turkey. The principle of the 'rule of law' was invoked....The efforts of the Greek-American community became so well orchestrated that *Time* magazine in 1975 wrote that 'one of the most effective lobbies in Washington today is that of Greek Americans....' The so-called Greek lobby consisted of, at the start, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the Ahepa.[26]

[26] Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans*, pp. 120-21.

Later, this clearly political issue was picked up by other groups among the Greek Americans. One of these was the "United Hellenic Congress (UHAC), headquartered in Chicago, [which] had strong Archdiocesan links and served as the major umbrella organization by coordinating Greek-American political efforts." [27]

It is obvious that if the Greek Orthodox Church could become so intimately involved in political issues such as the Cyprus question and the Turkish arms embargo, there could be no theoretical objection to its political involvement in the social and moral issues for which it had expressed much concern over recent years. In fact, the Archbishop on his own and the clergy-laity congresses had frequently addressed the leaders of the nation through resolutions, telegrams, and letters on other issues of a less ethnic concern. Such 'pronouncements' only differ in form—not in principle—from the lobbying of the Church regarding the Cyprus question. From the perspective of this writer, in these activities we do not have anything fundamentally new. This is 'whispering in the ear of the emperor' all over again, but in a new form that is cognizant of the new realities for the Orthodox embodied in the new context called 'American participatory democracy.'

From this perspective the Church and state are not perceived to be totally isolated from each other. Of course, in this context the Orthodox accept the principle of non-establishment of any church and demand for themselves what they must concurrently concede to others—the free exercise of religion. However, the other side of the coin shows that the doctrine of 'symphonia' still lives, albeit in a more modest and limited way. The Orthodox Church sees itself as responsible in some way for the moral climate of the nation and, as a result, exercises a more active and concerned role not only throught the formation of its own people, but also through proclamations, condemnations, and warnings, as well as various levels of clearly political action.

Yet, there is equally clearly a concern about the appropriate limits to this activity. I am convinced that this comes from two sources: one, from the Church's self-understanding; and two, from the unique situation provided by the American church-state pattern. Regarding the first, the following may serve as an illustration. As the author of a 'religious question box," I received the following question for response in January of 1981: "Jesus said, 'Render, therefore, unto Caesar, the things which are Caesar's; and unto God, the things that are God's' (Mt 22:21). Doesn't this mean separation of church and state? Isn't that what Jesus is telling us?" My response traced out the different systems of church-state relationships, and it concluded with the following two paragraphs:

> Since the American Revolution, a view of separation of church and state has come into being which sees church and state as separate,

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[27] Ibid., p. 121.

> but friendly. In this view, the Church does not attack the state as evil, but rather seeks to influence it to do good. However, it is agreed that no church will seek to control the state or seek to become the established religion of the state. This contributes to freedom of religion for all....Given the historical circumstances, with many different faiths and religions in our country, it is the best interpretation of Jesus' words. It means that Christians and the Church have obligations to contribute to the moral and spiritual uplifting of the nation without seeking to dominate and control it.[28]

There is the conviction that 'too much' involvement is as bad as 'not enough' involvement. The positive view of the relationship of church and state embodied in the words "seeks to influence it to do good" and "obligations to contribute to the moral and spiritual uplifting of the nation," is countered by cautionary notes: "no church will seek to control the state or seek to become the established religion of the state," and no church is to try "to dominate and control" the state.

The movement which has made this a serious question for all Americans in our day is the Moral Majority. I wish to further illustrate this issue through a critique of this movement based on two sets of criteria: one from the 'symphonia' theory of Eastern Orthodoxy, and one from the judicial interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.

The Moral Majority in the Perspective of the 'Symphonia' Theory

The second of the two questions for the 'question box' mentioned above asked: "What is the Church's position on supporting groups like the Moral Majority, in getting politicians elected who support their religious views?" (D.P., Stoughton, Ma.). And my answer was: "In general, the Church does not believe it has any business involving itself in partisan politics in which it takes positions about specific candidates. However, this does not mean that it ignores issues which have moral, or spiritual, or religious implications. Individual Orthodox Christians, however, are urged to exercise their Christian consciences as they see fit when they vote. Thus, I detect little or no enthusiasm for groups like the Moral Majority among Orthodox Christians in general, and none in the official Church." [29] If this answer is substantially correct (and I believe that it is), what is it about the Moral Majority that does not elicit Orthodox support? The founders of the Moral Majority movement draw on moral convictions which are shared, by and large, with Orthodox Christians. Other than the vehemence with which members of the Moral Majority protest abortion, radical women's liberation, gay rights, and other

[28] *Hellenic Chronicle*, 1 Jan. 1981.

[29] Ibid., 15 Jan. 1981.

life-styles which attack family life such as pornography, the positions held are almost indistinguishable from those of the Orthodox. In addition, Orthodox sentiment expresses, in general, an unhappiness with the increasing secularization of the nation as illustrated by the 1963 Supreme Court banning of prayer in public schools. Only the issue of evolution does not seem to stir the Orthodox as it does the Moral Majority people. It is not, then, the 'moral' dimension of the Moral Majority which creates a problem for the Orthodox Christians' identification with it. Nor is it the political activism of the Moral Majority, especially as it addresses the issues of personal morality delineated above. One can't help but be amused by the reaction of some liberal, main-line Protestants who find conservative religious success in these issues as somehow destructive of 'the American way.' The liberal's use of political devices, i.e., letter-writing, lobbying, fund-raising, and the media, has found approval in mainstream Protestantism. If the Moral Majority or the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops or the UHAC manage to do it better for their own causes and interests, this hardly deserves the epithets thrown by the left-of-center religious forces against those which are right of center. The editor of *Christian Century* was more honest when he wrote:

> Secular elites who control much of our national media consistently show a disdain for, and rejection of, the overt expression of religious conviction. Small wonder, then, that the New Right can appeal to so many conservative Christians. Persons threatened by change will retaliate if they do not feel understood....If we are troubled by the prospect of the New Right's determining what is 'acceptable' in order to be saved, we must not forget that the current religious and secular liberal establishment has also been guilty of defining for the nation what was pure and right.[30]

Other aspects of the Moral Majority position are much less attractive from an Eastern Orthodox position. The theological position on the Bible as the only source of Revelation (excluding Holy Tradition) and the dispensational premillennialism are foreign to Orthodox thought, but no more so than other Protestant beliefs which have not barred Orthodox from cooperation in the ecumenical movement.

It is my assumption that the real problem which creates a distance between the Moral Majority and Orthodox people is the sanctification of particular politicians as the bearers of divine approbation in the political contests, and the out-and-out condemnation of others. Beyond the fact that 'absolutist' morality has a hard time in the real world, there is a long-standing unwillingness in the 'symphonia' tradition to identify the political leader and the religious leader. It goes deeper than the separation of roles of the patriarch and the emperor. There is a long-standing debate among Byzantine and church historians regarding the nature of the coronation of the emperor. The title of a study on the subject is illuminating: "Church-State Relations in the Byzantine Empire As Reflected in the Role of the Patriarch in the Coronation of the Emperor." [31] The author, Peter Charanis, traces out the two views on the subject: one, that the emperor's coronation was nothing more than a festive occasion with little or no constitutional significance; and two, that the coronation by the emperor had constitutional and ecclesiastical significance and that the coronation, in fact, legitimized a new emperor in the sight of God and man. Charanis, who espouses and argues for the second of these two views, sees the significance of the coronation not in the area of practical politics at all, but in the area of ideas regarding the relationships of church and state. He concludes (and I believe his conclusions are significant for this discussion on the Orthodox reaction to the Moral Majority) with the following judgment:

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[30] James M. Wall, "A Changing Political Climate," *The Christian Century*, 97 no. 29 (24 September 1980) 868.

> The significance of the patriarchal coronation of the emperor and the religious ceremony that accompanied it, then, lies less in the domain of practical politics than of ideas. It was one of the factors promoting and expressing the concept of the empire viewed as coterminous with Christianity, directed by two officers, each deriving his power from God, and neither conceivable apart from the other.[32]

It was neither the task of the religious leader, the patriarch, to select the emperor, nor to replace him. The ethnarch does exist in the Orthodox tradition whereby a hierarch assumes political authority, but this normally occurs only in short-term crisis situations. When it has happened that the ethnarch remained a political authority, there was usually some mischief. An uncomfortable feeling arises when religious forces assume either a political office or become king-makers in the political sphere.

The 'symphonia' theory of church-state relations keeps religious values closely in touch with the 'bishops of this world,' but it refuses to cross that invisible line which confuses the two. Orthodox sensibilities may feel precisely, without clearly understanding why, that the Moral Majority has crossed that line.

The crossing of that line, also, I think, can be shown to be unacceptable from the point of view of the judicial interpretation of the constitutional provision respecting the relationship of church and state.

The first amendment, on its surface, seems quite simple and clear: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

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[31] Peter Charanis, in *The Ecumenical Word of Orthodox Civilization,* ed. Andrew Blane. Vol. 3 of Russia and Orthodoxy (The Hague, 1974), pp.77-90.

[32] Ibid., p. 89.

The two clauses have come to be known as the Establishment and the Free Exercise Clause. What appear to be straightforward statements of church-state separation are, in part, contradictory if more than absolute literal meaning is ascribed to the Establishment Clause. The Establishment Clause has been understood as being more than the obligation of the state to refrain from selecting a single religion as a state church. More generally, it has been read also to prohibit the state from giving support to *any* religious group, cause, or purpose. But at the same time, the Free Exercise Clause prohibits the state from establishing any limitations upon, or barriers or strictures against, the practice of religion.

Chief Justice Burger, in a case regarding the exemption of church property (Waltz vs. Tax Commission), noted the difficulty for the Court. Regarding the two, he said:

> The sweep of the absolute prohibitions in the Religion Clauses may have been calculated, but the purpose was to state an objective, not to write a statute. In attempting to articulate the scope of the two Religion Clauses, the Court's opinions reflect the limitations inherent in formulating general principles on a case-by-case basis. *The considerable inconsistancy in the opinions of the Court* derives from what, in retrospect, may have been too sweeping utterances on aspects of these clauses that seemed clear in relation to particular cases, but have limited meaning as general principles.[33]

There was need, the Chief Justice held, "to find a neutral course between the two Religion Clauses, both of which are cast in absolute terms and either of which, if expanded to a logical extreme, would tend to clash with each other." As a result, a policy of 'neutrality' has been forged by the court which "derives from an accommodation of the Establishment and the Free Exercise Clauses [which] has prevented the kind of involvement that would tip the balance toward government control of churches or governmental restraint on religious practice." [34] The purpose of the Supreme Court has been, in these religion cases, to avoid too close a relationship and entanglement while recognizing the responsibility of the state not to interfere with the essential right to religious expression. Thus, in the same case the opinion was articulated: "No perfect or absolute separation is really possible; the very existence of the Religion Clauses is an involvement of sorts—one that seeks to mark boundaries to avoid excessive entanglements." [35]

"To mark boundaries" is the key phrase. Here, too, there is a line drawn which, in spite of all legitimate relationships that may and ought to exist between a government and its religiously motivated people, needs to be respected. As in the case of the 'symphonia' theory and the relationship of patriarch to emperor, there is a line. Just as the state should not control the Church (caesaropapism), crossing that line from the direction of political authority, in the same manner the Church ought not to assume control over the state and dictate who its officials should be (papalcaesarism).

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[33] 397 U.S. 664, 668 (1970) my emphasis.

[34] 397 U.S. 669-670.

[35] Ibid.

It may be that the discomfort many Americans feel, and in this case Orthodox Christians, with the blitz tactics and 'targeting' of candidates is precisely a case of overstepping 'the boundaries.' Can it be that the Moral Majority is, in fact, a case of modern-day papalcaesarism which, from the perspective of the religion side of the equation, fails to avoid excessive entanglements? Here, at least, there seems to be a coincidence of judgment arising from an Orthodox Christian loyalty to 'symphonia' principles and the judicial interpretation and implementation of the American principle of separation of church and state.

Conclusion

James Leo Garrett's book review of *The Orthodox Churches and the Secular States* by Steven Runciman begins with the author's question: "Precisely where is the frontier between Caesar's empire and God's to be drawn?" At the conclusion of the review Garrett opines:

> If Runciman's purpose was to answer the religio-ethical questions posed, then he did not succeed. But, perhaps, as he suggests, (p.97), only in the future can such answers be given. He has succeeded in providing a readable and brief summary of Orthodox Church history with special reference to church-state relations. Many readers will not share the author's yearning for the advent of a 'new Constantine' and may be disposed to point Runciman to lessons learned in the New World.[36]

What has been presented here, though still in the form of tentative reflection, may be a beginning at articulating a view of Orthodox Christian perspectives on church-state relationships precisely in the light of lessons learned in the New World. Needless to say, I would hope to have successfully presented to our Southern Baptist conferees an image coming out of the authentic traditon of Eastern Orthodox Christianity together with some rather subjective and tentative efforts at using that tradition to address the problems of our own nation and times. The first of these, I believe, truly represents historic Orthodox tradition and belief. The second, however, is subject to the conciliar corrections of the mind of the Church. It may also serve to provide some useful material for our Greek Orthodox-Southern Baptist dialogue.

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36 *Journal of Church and State* 19 (1977) 98.

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JAMES E WOOD, JR.

CHURCH–STATE CONCERNS FROM A BAPTIST PERSPECTIVE

Baptist concerns in church-state relations arise out of a particular understanding of the church and the state: namely, the concept of a free church and a free or secular state. By a free church, we have meant a church free from any political alliance, sanction, or support, subject only to the lordship of Christ and comprised only of believers voluntarily committed to Christ. By a secular state, we have meant a limited state, limited to this age or *seculum* in which the people have excluded civil authority from religious affairs.

Religious liberty is the key to understanding Baptist concerns in church-state relations. Indeed, nothing is more central to Baptist faith and history than the Baptist legacy of religious liberty—a right affirmed by Baptists for every individual, as well as for all churches and religious traditions. For Baptists, religious liberty is rooted in a principle which denies both the competency and the right of the state to intervene in religious affairs. In the words of the Baptist Confession of Faith of 1612:

> The magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, to force or compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine: but to leave religion free, to every man's conscience, and to handle only civil transgressions (Rom 13), injuries and wrongs of man against man, for Christ only is the king and lawgiver of the church and conscience (James 4:12).[1]

This statement has been generally accepted as "perhaps the first confession of faith in modern times to demand freedom of conscience and separation of church and state."[2]

The principle of religious liberty has been a prominent feature of every Baptist confession of faith. An integral part of Baptist faith, religious liberty has occupied a prominent place in Baptist history. The conspicuous place given religious liberty in Baptist thought and practice has long been noted by many non-Baptist historians and theologians, as well as by Baptist scholars. In the seventeenth century when Lord Chancellor King sought to recognize John Locke as the author of religious liberty,

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[1] William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, rev. ed. (Valley Forge, Pa., 1969), p. 140; see also W. T. Whitley, *The Works of John Smyth*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1915), 2, p. 748.

[2] Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, p. 124.

Locke forthrightly declared that "the Baptists were the first and only propounders of absolute liberty—just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty." [3] Writing almost a century ago, the distinguished historian George Bancroft affirmed that "the paths of Baptists were the paths of freedom." [4] An important source of our heritage of religious liberty, Cecil Northcott wrote, "lies in the witness of the Baptist churches whose devotion to this idea, through years of persecution in...Europe, makes their place a foremost one in the history of liberty." [5] "No denomination," Anson Phelps Stokes observed, "has its roots more firmly implanted in the soil of religious freedom and church-state separation than the Baptists." [6] In his monumental work, *Church, State, and Freedom*, Leo Pfeffer, a Jewish scholar, acknowledged the role of Baptists in America as "the denomination by far most vigorous in the struggle for religious freedom and separation of church and state." [7] "This contribution," former U.S. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes declared, "is the glory of the Baptist heritage, more distinctive than any other characteristic of belief or practice. To this militant leadership all sects and faiths are debtors...." [8] In citing these observations, I do not mean to be self-aggrandizing or self-serving for Baptists, let alone to suggest that Baptists have by any means always lived up to their legacy of religious liberty, but rather to underscore the significance of the Baptist legacy of religious liberty as the key to understanding Baptist thought in church-state concerns. Because of their commitment to religious liberty, Baptists were compelled to urge the ratification of the First Amendment. The First Amendment, let it be remembered, was not superimposed on the churches, but claimed by the churches for themselves and for good theological reasons.

For Baptists, religious liberty cannot be given by the state, but must be exercised by the church through its work and witness. The witness of Baptists, at least in America, is rooted in a biblical understanding of the prophetic role of religion, a theological view of religious liberty as the foundation of all human rights, and the free exercise of religious liberty as a divine obligation of the church and a guaranteed legal right. Stated simply, the witness of Baptists in public affairs is the exercise of their religious liberty. Baptist concern for religious liberty is not only that the church may be free, but that it may be free to carry out its work and witness in the world—among individual persons and in society at large. Meanwhile, the state is not morally autonomous, and its authority is human, not divine. Any sanctifying of the nation-state is perceived as a threat to the prophetic role of religion, the principle of religious liberty, and the free exercise of religion in public affairs. To sanctify the state is idolatry and a betrayal of the mission of the church.

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[3] See Stanford H. Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America* (New York, 1902), pp. 64ff.

[4] George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1892), 1, p. 608.

[5] Cecil Northcott, *Religious Liberty* (New York, 1949), p. 28.

[6] Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States*, 3 vols. (New York, 1950), 3, p. 485.

[7] Leo Pfeffer, *Church, State, and Freedom*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1967), p. 101.

[8] Charles Evans Hughes, "Address at Laying of the Cornerstone of the National Baptist Memorial to Religious Liberty," *Religious Herald* 90 (27 April 1922) 4.

Because of their profound concern for religious liberty, Baptists are deeply committed to the institutional independence or separation of church and state as a means of ensuring the prophetic role of religion and the right of the church to carry out its religious mission without government accountability, political advantage, or political disadvantage. While it is not appropriate or possible here to attempt any comprehensive catalogue of critical issues in U.S. church-state relations, perhaps special attention to six of the major current church-state concerns of Baptists will best reflect Baptist understanding of church-state relations in the light of today's world.

Religion and the Body Politic

Baptists are deeply committed to the role of religion in the body politic as being integral to the free exercise of religion. Since 1930, and particularly since World War II, practically all of the major religious denominations in the United States have established offices in the nation's capital. The forerunner of the National Catholic Welfare Conference established headquarters in Washington in 1917. Branch offices of other denominations followed, with the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs inaugurated in 1939. Baptists and others of the religious community set up offices in Washington to deal with a variety of concerns, e.g., economic and social justice, human rights at home and abroad, foreign policy and Christian mission overseas, immigration, religious persecutions and denials of religious liberty abroad, the military chaplaincy, conscientious objection, world peace, and the use of public funds and church institutions, et al.

During these years the relations of the churches with government have not been concerned primarily with defending and protecting the interests of organized or institutional religion, but have increasingly focused on matters affecting the general welfare of persons at home and abroad and the application of the First Ammendment to all citizens. During this period the political activities of Baptists, as well as organized religion in general, have gradually become more inclusive, diffused, and sophisticated compared to an earlier day. Religious denominations have sought to exert their influence in public affairs not on behalf of personal morality, but on behalf of public policy with respect to economic and social justice, human rights, and war and peace. Organized social action groups have become widely recognized departments of America's major religious denominations.

The involvement of the churches in the body politic to influence public policy raises many questions for which legislative remedy is yet to be found. For example, are religious denominations which are directly and substantially involved in the body politic to be regarded as lobbies? A lobby has been defined "as a group of persons who conduct a campaign to influence members of a legislature to vote according to the group's special self-interest." With rare exception, namely the Friends Committee on National Legislation, denominational public affairs offices in Washington have not registered as lobbies. They have not done so for a variety of reasons. One is that these offices carry on various public affairs programs which are educational in nature, such as programs in information services and denominational relations. These programs are not aimed at influencing legislation, but informing constituencies in the area of public affairs. Furthermore, these offices are not by nature self-serving or motivated by the promotion of self-interest, as in the case of powerful lobbies such as the National Rifle Association or the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, but serve as voices of advocacy on a broad range of issues far beyond the institutional interests of the churches. The defense of human rights, the First Amendment, and social justice are simply not analogous to lobbies which exist to serve self-interest groups.

During the past several years serious efforts have been made in the Congress to enact sweeping and unprecedented legislation to require all organized political activity to be accountable to, and to come under the close scrutiny of, the federal government. Such legislation, if enacted into law, would require a massive monitoring of all advocacy groups by the federal government through the creation of what someone has appropriately called "an IRS for lobbying."

While the rationale for this legislation is presumably justified as being in the "public interest," the legislation would actually result in the surveillance by government of all organized political activity throughout the nation, especially by national organizations, citizens' groups, and religious denominations.

Happily, with increased public awareness of the implications of such legislation, opposition to government monitoring of virtually all political activity has been mounting. While the legislative intent has not been generally impugned by advocacy groups and the churches, serious objections have been raised primarily on the advocacy role of such groups and the churches. It is widely agreed that such legislation would have little effect on large lobbies, but would impose a substantial burden on marginal groups, small organizations, and citizens' groups, as well as the churches and associations of churches.

Strong opposition to this legislation has been expressed by the American Civil Liberties Union and virtually every segment of the religious community—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. ACLU testimony submitted in opposition to the legislation declared, "We believe that if there is any abuse or appearance of abuse in lobbying, it is to be found in gifts and direct contacts with members of Congress...," not in "the advocacy of ideas." Far from discouraging advocacy groups and the churches, we believe that government should do all it reasonably can to encourage the role of advocacy among citizens' groups and voluntary associations in general.

For the churches, all of these objections to lobby disclosure legislation are accentuated by the cumulative effect of the inclusion of the churches in such legislation on the abridgment of "the free exercise of religion." To witness in public affairs is, for the churches, integral to the free exercise of religion. To be accountable to the federal government is itself incongruous with the prophetic role of religion in a free society. The effect of the inclusion of the churches in such legislation, no matter what its declared intent, would be to inhibit the witness of the churches in public affairs.

Does the state have the right to severely restrict the public affairs activities of those religious bodies which are substantially involved in public affairs, in speaking out on public issues, and in defending human values according to the insights of their own religious traditions? If the involvement of religious denominations in the body politic is regarded as integral to their faith and mission, is the role of religion in the body politic not integral also to "the free exercise of religion" as guaranteed by the First Amendment? As Baptists, we believe that legislative remedy must be found to protect, and not to prohibit, the prophetic role of religion in public affairs.

Tax Exemption and the Churches

In recent years the tradition of tax exemption of religion has become a source of open inquiry, discussion, and controversy on the part of both civil and religious leaders to a degree unprecedented in American history.[9] While the question of tax exemption and the churches is by no means new to the American scene, it has largely become a live issue only during the past two decades.

Today a crisis is emerging in the United States with regard to tax exemption and religion. The crucial issue is not, however, over any possible sweeping removal of tax exemption of religion as such. Rather, the crisis is precipitated by two questions: Should tax exemption of religion be conditioned on the absence of involvement in influencing public policy? Does the state, in this case through the IRS, have the competence or right to define the nature of religion and use it as the basis for determining eligibility for tax exemption?

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[9] See John W. Baker, ed., *Taxation and the Free Exercise of Religion* (Washington, D.C., 1978); D.B. Robertson, *Should Churches Be Taxed?* (Philadelphia, 1968); and Dean M. Kelley, *Why Churches Should Not Pay Taxes* (New York, 1977).

Since 1934, the Internal Revenue Code has provided, through congressional legislation, that tax exemption for a public charity may be denied if it devotes a "substantial" part of its activities attempting to influence legislation. What is "substantial?" The IRS has said that less than five percent is not substantial, but the actual truth is that "substantial" means whatever the IRS says it means. It has been on this basis that the IRS has, in effect, been able to say that organized religion may not speak out on public issues and at the same time enjoy tax exemption. The principle, which really is yet to be tested in the courts by any religious denomination, is an abridgment of the free exercise of religion.

This condition of tax exemption robs the church of the right to be the church. It places a tax on the free exercise of religion and, at the same time, denies the church freedom of speech. For Baptists, the church has both a right and a responsiblity to speak out on public affairs by virtue of its mission and the guarantees of the First Amendment. The present IRS policy of applying the 'substantiality' test, including a threat of an IRS audit, can only have a chilling and inhibiting effect on the churches in the area of public affairs, even though this activity may be viewed as an integral part of their religious mission.

Up to the present time, the Supreme Court has given little attention to defining the constitutional concept of religion. Repeatedly the Court has acknowledged that it is probably constitutionally impossible. There is no definition of religion in the Constitution, as Supreme Court Justice Morrison R. Waite noted in *Reynolds* v. *United States* (1878)[10] involving the Mormon practice of polygamy. Whatever one's pragmatic or preferred definition of religion may be, the United States has never accepted, in principle or in practice, that religious liberty is to be limited to, or made synonymous with, "freedom of religious worship," as is done in the Soviet Union.

The First Amendment prohibits government from determining orthodoxy or heresy in religion or from making any formal definition of religion. As Milton R. Konvitz has written, "Not only should the questions of religious truth or falsity and of sincerity or hypocrisy of religious professions be beyond the cognizance of government, but even the very meaning or definition of 'religion,' as the term is used in the First Amendment, should be outside the area of government inquiry." [11] The

[10] 38 U.S. 145 (1878).

[11] Milton R. Konvitz, *Religious Liberty and Conscience: A Constitutional Inquiry* (New York, 1968), p. 50; see also *Sheldon* v. *Fannin*, 221 F. Supp. 766, at 755 (1963), and *Kolbeck* v. *Kramer*, 202 A. 2d 889 (N. J. Super. Ct. 1964).

state may not define religion because, as Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote in *Cincinnati* v. *Vester* (1930), "To define is to limit." [12] For this reason, for example, the courts have ruled that a belief in a supreme being is not requisite to tax exemption on religious grounds.

Nonetheless, the Internal Revenue Service in 1977 issued a regulation defining "Integrated Auxiliary of a Church," based not on the claim(s) of the church or the synagogue, but on the test made by the IRS of whether the "principle activity of an organization or institution claiming to be an integrated auxiliary is 'exclusively religious.' " [13] Thereby, the IRS arrogated unto itself, in effect, the highly questionable role of determining what is and what is not 'religious' activity of church agencies and institutions. In doing so, the IRS violated both the letter and the spirit of the First Amendment.

Recent efforts, therefore, on the part of the Internal Revenue Service to define what does and does not constitute a church must be viewed with grave alarm. The initial response of Baptists, subsequently reaffirmed by the Baptist Joint Committee and the Southern Baptist Convention, maintains that "the churches have not agreed, and cannot agree, with the proposition that the state is competent to develop a definition of a church into which each member of the diverse religious community must fit." [14] In fact, there is no single definition of religion that the IRS could formulate which could ever be applicable to all of America's religious traditions, quite aside from the fact that such a formulation of religion would be in violation of the prohibitions of the First Amendment. Furthermore, under the Constitution each church is the sole source of the definition of its mission and the church alone is capable of determining those agencies or auxiliaries which are integral to that mission.

No government is competent to determine what is and what is not 'religious' activity of church agencies and institutions since this would involve a determination of the nature of the church and its mission. Hence, we believe that it is not the business of government to rule on whether or not church agencies and auxiliaries are integral to the life and mission of the church. In addition, it is not a proper role for government to make a value judgment on religion, either with regard to its social value to the state or the economic worth of the churches. As Baptists, we remain firm in our position, as we have communicated to the IRS, that churches, rather than the state, must make the determination of the nature and degree of relatedness of an agency or auxiliary to the religious mission of the church.

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[12] 281 U.S. 439 (1930).

[13] See *Federal Register* 42 (4 January 1977), 767. In writing this legislation under Section 6033, the IRS defined "exclusively religious" to exclude any religious function which could be granted a tax-exempt status under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, i.e., "an organization's principal activity will not be considered to be exclusively religious if that activity is educational, literary, charitable, or of another nature (other than religious) that would serve as a basis for exemption under Section 501 (c)," ibid.

[14] See *Statement of James E. Wood, Jr., Executive Director, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in Opposition to the Proposed Amendments to 26 C.F.R. Part 1,* 26 March 1976; see *Southern Baptist Convention Annual,* (1976) 37-38.

Public Funds and Parochial Schools

For many years questions concerning public funds and nonpublic schools have been critical issues in U.S. church-state relations. During the past thirty-five years no other church-state problems have provoked as much discussion and prompted as much litigation. Significantly, the two problems are indissolubly linked in American church-state relations. On the one hand, the role of religion in public schools has been adjudicated on the basis that public schools are necessarily subject to public control and public policy by virtue of the fact that they are tax supported. On the other hand, the use of public funds is in conflict with the private character of nonpublic schools, whether religious or secular. The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has long maintained an active role in the Congress and in the courts on behalf of Baptist opposition to public funds for church schools.[15] Such use of public funds is, Baptists believe, incongruous to the whole concept of American public policy which necessarily accompanies the expenditure of public funds.

Tuition tax credit legislation, now being vigorously pushed in the Ninety-seventh Congress, constitutes a revolutionary concept in American public policy, one which would radically overturn the American tradition of public education, subject as it is to compliance with public policy and to public accountability. Tuition tax credit legislation would, in fact, provide preferential economic assistance to nonpublic schools by the federal government. If enacted into law, the plan would provide, without any religious restrictions, multi-billion-dollar subsidies for private and parochial elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools without restriction.

Opposition to tuition tax credits for elementary, secondary, and post-secondary students is one which is appropriately based on First Amendment concerns, the restricted use of public funds for public education, and a position in support of public schools.

Tuition tax credit legislation threatens American public policy and public education in three major ways. First, it would provide public funds to nonpublic schools which maintain and emphasize an essentially private character without being subject to public accountability or public policy. Public funds would thus be used to preserve the private character of nonpublic schools throughout the nation (most of which were established and are maintained at variance with prevailing public policy), a practice which flies in the face of an established public policy of public accountability and public control with the use of public funds.

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[15] The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has testified throughout the years in the Congress in opposition to the use of public funds for church schools and has filed *amicus* briefs in support of this view in *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1, 16 (1947); *Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty* v. *Nyquist*, 413 U.S. 756 (1973); *Meek* v. *Pittenger*, 421 U.S. 349 (1975); *Roemer* v. *Board of Public Works of Maryland*, 426 U.S. 736 (1976); and *Wolman* v. *Walter*, 433 U.S. 229 (1977).

Furthermore, the enactment of such legislation would, in fact, provide preferential treatment by way of additional tax support to nonpublic schools. Since elementary and secondary public schools charge no tuition, the legislation would provide them no benefits in the way of increased federal subsidy. Inasmuch as the Packwood-Moynihan plan (S.550), as introduced in the Ninety-seventh Congress, would authorize tuition tax credits up to $500 for one half of the tuition charged for any one year, the legislation clearly favors private, rather than public, schools—from elementary on through colleges and universities—in view of the absence of any tuition charged by elementary and secondary public schools and the very modest tuition charged by public institutions of higher learning. Thereby, tuition tax credits would represent an unprecedented shift on the part of the federal government from public to private education. The passage of such legislation would have a devastating effect on public education in this country and would mean that Congress would be providing four times as much money per private school student as it now provides per student in public elementary and secondary schools. Tuition tax credits would inevitably mean the subsidization of private education at the expense of public education.

Finally, this proposed legislation would seriously threaten American public policy as it applies to the use of public funds for church schools. Serious constitutional questions would be raised by such legislation in view of major decisions made by the U.S. Supreme Court during the past decade outlawing public funds for parochial and pervasively religious schools. In rendering its decisions on public funds and church schools, the Court established and applied a three-pronged test to determine whether governmental action is violative of the constitutional prohibition against government acts "representing an establishment of religion": one, the statute must have a secular legislative purpose; two, it must have a "primary effect" that neither advances nor inhibits religion; and three, the statute and its administration must avoid excessive government entanglement with religion.[16] Tuition tax credit legislation fails on all three counts.

Congress may not constitutionally do by indirection that which the

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[16] While the Court dealt with 'purpose' in *Everson* (1947) and with 'purpose' and 'effect' in *McGowan* v. *Maryland* (1961), the purpose-effect rule was not formulated by the Court until *Abington* v. *Schempp* in 1963. This formulation was further expanded into the three-pronged test cited here in *Walz* v. *Tax Commission*, 397 U.S. 664 (1970), at 674, 675.

Constitution forbids it to do directly. The sponsors of this legislation acknowledged and agreed that the purpose is, and the primary effect would be, to aid parochial schools. Clearly, tax credits to taxpayers with children enrolled in schools which are permeated with religion would have the effect of aiding religion in that the taxpayer would become a mere conduit of public aid to religious schools—aid which constitutionally cannot be given directly or indirectly. Thus, to provide for such tax credits would constitute an act respecting an establishment of religion. In the meantime, government has neither the duty nor the responsibility to support private education, but it does have a fundamental obligation to support public education which is subject to public accountability and public control.

Tax credits to those taxpayers who pay tuition to religious schools would also lead to excessive administrative entanglement of government and religion. Administrators in the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Service would be compelled to make continuing determinations of the degree of religious permeation in the school or college in order, as mandated by *Roemer* v. *Board of Public Works in Maryland* (1976),[17] to determine whether tuition paid to a specific institution qualifies for a tax credit.

In addition to the legislation's violation of the establishment-of-religion clause of the First Amendment, opposition to tuition tax credit legislation is based on the following public policy considerations:

(1) Tax relief provided in these bills does do harm and achieves only a marginal tax relief. The passage of a bill granting tuition tax credits would open the door for divisive struggles to increase tax credits to a meaningful level. At the same time, the income losses suffered by the federal government as a result of such legislation would pose a threat to existing educational programs.

(2) Tax expenditures are real money expenditures even though they do not appear as a line item in a budget. In the last Congress, the House Committee on the Budget indicated that it might well consider tax expenditures on education as a part of the total education package. If this were to be the case, the dollar cost of tax credits, which are not based on need, would likely be set off by a parallel reduction in other educational programs.

(3) The plan of tuition tax credits for elementary and secondary education would give private elementary and secondary schools—the overwhelming majority of which are religious—a substantial advantage over public schools in recruiting and retaining students. Since public elementary and secondary schools do not charge tuition, there would be a disincentive for parents to leave children enrolled in them when a tax advantage is available if their children are sent to nonpublic schools. The

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[17] 426 U.S. 736 (1976).

presence of tax credits would encourage students to enroll in and/or remain in private schools. Public policy which favors private schools over public ones is incongruous.

(4) The tax relief provided by tuition tax credits would soon be totally eroded by tuition increases at all educational levels. Schools and colleges would see the tax credits as the aid which they were really intended to be and would tend to raise tuitions to include the amount of tax credit allowable. Thus, the taxpayer would serve simply as a means of channeling aid to church schools and church colleges.

(5) Finally, tuition tax credits are inequitable and regressive. Those taxpayers at the lower income levels would receive benefits at a rate far lower than their needs, while taxpayers with middle and upper incomes, without pressing need for financial aid, would receive the maximum tax credit. This policy would mean, in effect, those who most need education to escape poverty would receive the least help.

Tuition tax credits which would directly or indirectly aid parochial schools and those colleges which are essentially a part of the religious mission of a church should, Baptists believe, be opposed as a violation of the separation of church and state. What is more, such legislation should also be resisted as financially inequitable, bad public policy for both public and private education, and incompatible with the guarantees of a free and democratic society.

Government-Sponsored Prayer in the Public Schools

Renewed and vigorous support is being given by this administration and in Congress to remove all restrictions and rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court and all federal district courts with respect to prayer in the public schools and public buildings. Aimed specifically at circumventing and circumscribing the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of 1962 and 1963 (*Engel* v. *Vitale* and *Abington* v. *Schempp*),[18] proposed legislation would permit state-sponsored and state-written prayers to become a part of the program of the public schools and public education throughout the nation. By removing government-sponsored prayers and religious exercises from the jurisdiction of all federal courts, the place of prayer in the public schools would be determined by the states and local communities.

To accomplish this political reversal of the landmark decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1980, a national prayer committee was officially announced and endorsed by Congressman Crane. Interestingly enough, none of the persons named on the committee officially represented any religious denomination. By contrast, the strongest support for the Supreme Court decisions outlawing government-sponsored prayers in the public schools and the most vigorous opponents of congressional efforts on behalf of constitutional amendments or legislation to overturn these court decisions have come from the major religious denominations of America, both Christian and Jewish. No denominations have been more in the forefront of support for the U.S. Supreme Court decisions and in opposition to government-sponsored prayers in the public schools than have the various national Baptist bodies, including the Southern Baptist Convention.

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[18] 370 U.S. 421 (1962); 374 U.S. 203 (1963).

Almost two decades ago, in a resolution supportive of the Supreme Court decisions, the Southern Baptist Convention, during its annual session, declared "our support for the concepts and the vocabulary of the First Amendment, including both its prohibition upon government roles in religious programs and its protection of free exercise of religion and the people." In reaffirming its commitment to religious liberty, the resolution declared that "this freedom does not entitle them ['public officials and public servants'] to use public or official powers for the advancement of religious commitments or ideas." [19] This position was reaffirmed and enlarged in 1971, again in 1975, and again in 1980.[20]

The American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. similarly declared, "In the light of...Supreme Court decisions, we affirm our historic Baptist belief that religion should not be a matter of compulsion and that prayers and religious practices should not be prescribed by law or by a teacher or public school official." [21] More recently, in its 1977 Biennial Meeting, American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. forthrightly declared by ballot vote (with only fifty-one "no" votes out of twelve hundred cast), "We affirm the United States Supreme Court stand that prayer and Bible reading as prescribed acts have no place in a secular, pluralistic, public school." [22] Opposition to efforts to overturn the Supreme Court decisions have been strongly voiced by leaders of the American Baptists, Baptist General Conference, North American Baptist Conference, Progressive National Baptist Convention, and the Southern Baptist Convention, in addition to the repeated declarations of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Many state Baptist conventions have voiced the same position.

In this area, to be sure, Baptists by no means stand alone, but are joined by a wide range of religious denominations throughout America, including the Lutheran Council of America, Church of the Brethren, the United Methodist Church, United Presbyterian Church, USA, American Jewish Congress, and the National Council of Churches. In a letter written to all members of the Senate during the past year, the Washington office of the National Council of Churches declared, "The National Council of Churches, representing thirty-two major Protestant and Orthodox communions in this country, believes that the religious experience of children is not the business of either the government or the public schools...rather, a responsibility and a sacred trust of the family and the church." [23] Again, it is highly significant today, as during the past two decades, that the strongest support for state-sponsored prayers in the public schools comes from individuals (within and outside the religious community), public officials, professional evangelists, and nondenominational religious associations and not from mainline churches or religious denominations as such.

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[19] *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1964*, p. 80.

[20] *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1971*, p. 78; *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1975*, pp. 79-80; *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1980*, p. 49.

[21] American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., *Biennial Meeting, 1971.*

[22] American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., *Biennial Meeting, 1977.*

Admittedly, many persons still do not know what the United States Supreme Court has said and has not said with respect to prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. In *Engel*, the Court rightly declared that government, which in this case was a state government, may not require prayer in the public schools, even when it is conditioned on a "voluntary" basis for school pupils. The following year, 1964, the Court in *Abington* ruled that prayer and devotional Bible reading may not be a part of the public school curricular activities. In no way did these decisions deny or prohibit the right of teachers and pupils to pray in public schools on an individual or voluntary basis, but such prayers were not to be a part of the public school program as such.

Most important to remember is that the U.S. Supreme Court explicitly disclaimed that it ruled out the study of religion from the curriculum of the public schools, so long as religion is made the object of academic inquiry and not the object of religious worship or faith under the auspices of government or the public school structure. Rather, for more than thirty years the Court has acknowledged the high value of religion in civilization and in the learning experience of public school children. Speaking for the Court, Justice Tom Clark perceptively observed almost twenty years ago that "it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of...religion." [24]

Former President Carter spoke for Baptists and the vast majority of America's religious denominations on this point when he declared, in response to the Helms Amendment, that government "ought to stay out of the prayer business.... I don't think that the Congress ought to pass any legislation requiring or permitting prayer being required or encouraged in [the public] school." [25] Hopefully, the Ninety-seventh Congress will recognize this and not be intimidated for fear of political consequences of a vote which some of their constituents might interpret as a vote against God, against religion, and against morality. That is simply not the issue in the legislation on prayer in the public schools. Rather, it is that such legislation is unnecessary and does not serve the legitimate interest of the state or true religion.

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[23] See *Report from the Capital* 35 (March 1980) 15.

[24] *Abington* v. *Schempp*, 374 U.S. at 225.

[25] *Report from the Capital* 35 (March 1980) 9.

Finally, Baptists believe that it is bad legislation that would seriously jeopardize not only the First Amendment guarantees with respect to an establishment of religion and the free exercise of religion, but also the principle of Supreme Court review of all constitutional issues.

The IRS and Tax-Exempt Schools

On 22 August 1978, the Internal Revenue Service issued a proposed procedure, along with specific guidelines, for reviewing the tax-exempt status of private schools.[26] The purpose of the proposed regulation was to deny tax-exempt status to those private schools whose enrollments were racially imbalanced when measured by the population of the communities in which they were located and to those schools which did not have an admission policy of racial non-discrimination. Although this ruling has been temporarily stayed through a categorical denial by Congress of funds for the implementation of this ruling, this revenue procedure has not been withdrawn by the Internal Revenue Service.

Response to this revenue procedure on private tax-exempt schools was unprecedented in the history of the Internal Revenue Service. Soon after the proposed procedure was issued in 1978, strong opposition to it was expressed on behalf of Baptists through the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, and, subsequently, by the Southern Baptist Convention.[27]

The testimony of the Baptist Joint Committee before the Internal Revenue Service and the position taken by the Southern Baptist Convention and other national Baptist bodies should in no way be construed as an equivocating position of Baptists with regard to the elimination of racial discrimination throughout American society. Rather, Baptists have a deep commitment to the protection of human rights and to the elimination of discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, sex, or age. Indeed, Baptists have repeatedly commended efforts on the part of the government to eliminate racial discrimination in public-financed education, but Baptists do vigorously object to such a revenue procedure as it applies to church-related and church-operated schools and, ultimately, to the churches themselves. The application of the proposed revenue procedure to churches and their agencies would be, however, a direct affront to the religion clauses of the First Amendment.

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[26] See *Federal Register* 43 (22 August 1978) 37296, as originally issued, and the revised proposed revenue procedure as published in *Federal Register* 44 (13 February 1979) 9451.

[27] See *Report from the Capital* 34 (January 1979) 4; *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1979*, pp. 56-57.

Baptists have generally limited their objection specifically to questions which the proposed revenue procedure raises for churches and church-related institutions. For Baptists, the fundamental issue which is raised by the proposed revenue procedure is religious liberty and the separation of church and state rather than the furtherance of a meritorious public policy of abolishing racial discrimination. Without passing judgment on the competence of the IRS to establish valid educational policy, Baptists maintain that the Internal Revenue Service lacks statutory authorization and legal competence, under the First Amendment, to regulate enrollment policies of either churches or the schools which they operate as an integral part of their religious mission.

There may be some church-related schools which discriminate on the basis of race in their admissions policies. Some of these may discriminate as a result of a strongly held belief which is directly related to their church membership policy. Admittedly, these schools' admission and enrollment policies may be reprehensible to many outside the religious communities with which they are affiliated, but an attempt by the Internal Revenue Service to control these policies by a threat to revoke their tax-exempt status or to police the day-to-day admissions and enrollment practices constitutes, we believe, a flagrant violation of the guarantees of the religion clauses of the First Amendment.

Over the past several decades the Supreme Court has consistently (and rightly so) held that parochial schools are religious, i.e., they were established for religious purposes, their curriculum is permeated with religion, and they are considered a part of the religious mission of the church. With this, Baptists are in complete agreement. If the proposed revenue procedure should become the policy of the Internal Revenue Service, a process would be set in motion which would, unconstitutionally, excessively entangle government with religion. In fact, the proposed procedure specifically states, "Mere denial of a discriminatory purpose is insufficient" [28] (Section 4.02). Indeed, the school must demonstrate that it has enrolled the required quota of minority students or that it is operating in good faith on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. These conditions could not be met on a "one-time-only" basis. There would, of necessity, be a continual examination of records and activities. Any logical and/or legal definition of "excessive entanglement" would clearly comprehend this kind of oversight and supervision.

According to the IRS, any church school which does not meet the racial quota may still retain its tax-exempt status if it is able affirmatively to demonstrate that it is operating in good faith on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. However, the ways which the proposed ruling provides for so demonstrating this would make excessive entanglement of government and religion inevitable. Furthermore, the ruling's tests of good faith operation pose for church schools which are not integrated or are only minimally integrated for whatever reason (e.g., a Black Muslim, a Shin Buddhist, an Orthodox Jewish, or a Korean church school) the almost impossible task of proving a negative—namely, that they do not discriminate. For the government to control the admission policies of church schools is to ignore the patterns of membership of the churches themselves since church schools, by and large, are operated, owned, and maintained by the churches to meet the needs of their own particular religious communities.

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[28] *Federal Register* 43 (22 August 1978) 37296, sec. 4.02.

Anything short of exempting church-related and church-operated schools from coverage by these and other similar government procedures, rulings, and regulations will not cure the serious church-state constitutional problems which are inherent in them.[29] This nation was built on the principle of a free church within a free state and that principle, explicitly guaranteed in the First Amendment, must be perpetuated.

Human Rights and Foreign Affairs

At no time in human history have human rights been so universally espoused philosophically and yet more flagrantly violated politically as in the twentieth century. There is overwhelming evidence to indicate that religious liberty, for example, is far from being a reality in most of today's world. While clearly denied in practice, the principle of religious liberty has become one of those axiomatic commitments that is almost universally recognized. Like justice and democracy, the principle of human rights is widely given verbal support throughout the world, even by the most undemocratic and totalitarian of governments.

This striking paradox may be explainable, at least in part, in terms of the phenomenal increase in the importance given to international relations, the emergence of the totalitarian state, and the flowering nationalism among the nations of the world. Although the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted more than thirty years ago, it is estimated that two thirds of the people in the world today are denied these basic human rights and freedoms.

During the past several years, concern for human rights has been given an unprecedented place in U.S. foreign policy and has, in fact, become the most significant single development in international affairs. Through

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29 Other examples of similar church-state confrontations resulting from recent actions of federal agencies include the ruling issued 19 April 1978 by the Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall, extending coverage of the Federal Unemployment Tax Act and the presumed right of jurisdiction by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) against Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. The latter action has resulted in litigation resulting from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary's refusal to divulge faculty and staff records on the grounds that to do so would violate First Amendment guarantees with respect to the "free exercise of religion" and the separation of church and state.

the historic Helsinki Final Act of 1975, signed by thirty-five states of Europe and North America, for the first time human rights were made an integral part of international agreement and basic to the "principles guiding relations between participating states." [30] In an altogether unparalleled manner, the issue of human rights has become a major factor in international relations and a mounting civil and political issue in national and international affairs. Indeed, it is one of the key problems facing mankind today.

Baptist commitment to human rights is deeply rooted in the competency of the individual under God which, when applied to the political sphere, provides a theological foundation for nations founded on popular sovereignty and civil rights. As E. Y. Mullins expressed it more than seventy years ago, "The competency of the soul in religion and under God—may be regarded as the platform of human rights." [31] Religious liberty is the linchpin of freedom, for it is an integral part of all freedoms essential to man—civil, political, and economic. One of the earliest statements of the Baptist Joint Committee discerningly declared: "We believe religious liberty is the ultimate ground of democratic institutions, and that wherever this liberty is questioned, restricted, or denied any groups—political, religious, or philosophical—all other human rights are imperiled." [32]

Whatever the failures of Baptists have been relative to human rights, whether in principle or in practice (and, admittedly, Baptist failures have been on both counts), the rank and file of Baptists have long contended for the cause of human rights. To the degree that Baptists have been sensitive to the rights of conscience and the worth of every person, both individually and collectively, they have in some small manner at least reflected a commitment to human rights.

The issue of human rights was a major reason for the formation of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, which from the beginning was assigned the task "to confer, to negotiate, to demand just rights that are being threatened or to have other...dealings with our American or other governments." [33] Through the years the Baptist Joint Committee has, therefore, addressed itself to a wide variety of human-rights concerns: religious liberty; conscientious objection; nondiscrimination with respect to race, sex, national origin, or religion; the right to privacy; world hunger; the right to employment; and the rights of displaced persons, among others. It has meant opposition to universal military training and repeated reaffirmation of support for the United Nations and the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Particular attention has, therefore, been given to the elevation of human rights in U.S. foreign policy and in the United Nations.[34]

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[30] *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Final Act*, Basket One, 1 (a). The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which opened at Helsinki on 3 July 1973 and continued at Geneva from 8 September 1973 to 21 July 1975, was concluded at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, hence the more generally used designation, Helsinki Final Act. Equally significant is the agreement made by all of the signatory states to hold conferences every two years for review and implementation of the Final Act's provisions, which are permeated with human-rights concerns. "Follow-up" conferences were held for several months in Belgrade (1977-78) and Madrid (1979-80).

[31] E. Y. Mullins, *The Axioms of Religion* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 77.

[32] Rufus W. Weaver, ed., *The Road to Freedom* (Washington, D. C., 1944), p. 11.

[33] *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1936*, p. 96. For a detailed account of the Baptist Joint Committee's formation and history, see Stanley L. Hastey, "History of the Baptist

With the close of World War II the Joint Committee sought to foster a universal declaration on religious liberty which would bring an end to religious persecutions throughout the world. In April 1945, with strong support for the formation of the United Nations, the Committee named four well-known Baptist representatives to the United Nations Organization in San Francisco. Their assignment, supported by 100,000 petitions by Baptists—North and South, black and white—was to secure a provision for religious liberty and human rights in the United Nations Charter. Joseph M. Dawson, the first Executive Director of the Baptist Joint Committee, presented the petitions from the Baptists. While Baptist efforts in this case were not entirely successful, the preamble of the United Nations Charter does imply the idea in principle.

During 1977, the Baptist Joint Committee voted unanimously to commend President Jimmy Carter for his commitment, "in word and in deed," to the implementation of human rights in U.S. foreign policy and to the elimination of "all nuclear weapons from this earth." [35] In October 1977, the Committee reiterated its strong suppoort for "human rights throughout the world." [36] In anticipation of the Belgrade Conference for the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, the Baptist Joint Committee voted that "we affirm our strong belief that all nations which are signatories to the Helsinki Accord should seek to show in every way possible respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief." [37]

Baptist concerns for human rights have found expression in various denominational structures as well as in official pronouncements of national and international bodies. In a "Manifesto" adopted by the Twelfth

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Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 1946-1971" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973).

[34] On the occasion of the Baptist Joint Committee's fortieth anniversary, the agency sponsored its Seventeenth Religious Liberty Conference on the theme, "The Church, the State, and Human Rights," symbolizing the Committee's four decades of work and witness on behalf of human rights.

[35] See *Report from the Capital* 32 (April 1977) 6.

[36] *Report from the Capital* 32 (October-November 1977) 7.

[37] Ibid.

Baptist World Congress in 1970, specific attention was directed to a broad range of human rights: "...We seek equal civil rights for all men and women and support the responsible use of these rights by all...we will strive to conquer racism, achieve brotherhood, alleviate poverty, abolish hunger, and support morally sound population objectives."[38]

To be genuine, concern for human rights must be for the whole person and for all persons. This principle was explicitly articulated in the mandate given the Baptist Joint Committee more than forty years ago: "Believing religious liberty to be not only an inalienable human right, but indispensable to human welfare, a Baptist must exercise himself to the utmost in the maintenance of absolute religious liberty for his Jewish neighbor, his Catholic neighbor, his Protestant neighbor, and for everybody else."[39] Concern for human rights must be expressed for all who are denied these rights, based on God's concern for all humanity. Hopefully, Human Rights Day, 10 December, will come to be increasingly observed by all churches and synagogues as a symbol of their genuine commitment to human rights everywhere. The Baptist World Alliance officially recommends the observance of this day by Baptists throughout the world.

However important Baptist espousal of human rights in principle has been and, indeed, is, the more fundamental issue is the translation of these verbal commitments into action. For the ultimate concern for Baptists cannot be for human rights as abstract ideals, but their actual realization in society. In the accomplishment of this task, Baptists are called upon as members of the community of faith to defend human rights, to suffer with the oppressed, and to be a force for liberation and justice for all. By working for the implementation of human rights, Baptists give witness to the world of the authenticity of their human rights pronouncements and their theological foundations. Meanwhile, genuine concern for human rights imposes upon Baptists a solemn obligation to defend human rights in the context of today's world:

(1) Although human rights are almost universally espoused in principle by most of the nations of the world, in actual practice human rights are expressly denied throughout the world by nations large and small, politically on the right and the left. The truth is that the almost worldwide ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has by no means been accompanied by a steady advance of human rights among the nations of the world.

(2) There is evidence of a growing concern for human rights all over the world. Much of the impetus for this concern has resulted from the

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[38] Baptist World Alliance, *Reconciliation Through Christ: Official Report of the Twelfth Congress, Baptist World Alliance, Tokyo, Japan, 12-18 July 1970* (Valley Forge, Pa., 1971), pp. 248-49.

[39] *Southern Baptist Convention Annual 1939*, p. 116.

far-reaching implications to be found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which Baptists and the churches at large made a major contribution for the inclusion of religious liberty and other concerns.[40]

(3) Human rights must be made an authentic and independent concern of governments in international affairs. Concern for human rights must stand on its own, unencumbered by self-serving interests.

(4) Human rights must be rooted in the concern for the inviolable rights of all persons. In supporting the cause of human rights at home and abroad, America is thereby contributing to the stability and strength of this nation and the world community to benefit all mankind. For this nation to do less is not to serve mankind, but to serve as an end unto itself and to profane the cause of human rights.

(5) Human rights are perceived as embodying both personal and social rights, e.g., civil and political liberties (freedom of religion, thought, assembly, press, movement, and to take part in government), and the right to employment, food, shelter, education, and health care. Without these social rights, personal or individual rights are virtually empty of any meaning and are without any means of fulfillment.

(6) Finally, we believe that it is important to comprehend human rights as indivisible and to see clearly the interdependence of all types of human-rights violations. For example, as a people of God, Baptists dare not focus their concern on religious liberty and ignore other personal civil and political rights or social rights relating to economic and social justice. Impelled by biblical faith, Baptists also seek to join hands with others in the defense of human rights and to be identified with the cause of human rights for all persons at home and abroad.

Conclusion

As was indicated at the beginning, the key to Baptist witness in public affairs is to be understood as the exercise of religious liberty or, as guaranteed by the Constitution, "the free exercise of religion." It is this "free exercise of religion," the cornerstone of the church's witness in public affairs and in society at large, which is seriously threatened today by the intrusion of government into the affairs of the churches and the financial entanglement of government with church institutions and programs, with the inevitable loss of their religious identity and integrity. The free exercise of religion is also endangered by increased attempts on the part of government to define the church's mission and to demand accountability of churches to government, both in the way of disclosures of financial records and disclosures of the nature and degree of the church's witness in public affairs. During the next twenty-five years, the process of government in the United States will inevitably wrestle with and resolve, in some fashion, the question of whether or not to retain the special place accorded religion in the Constitution. Many individuals in government fail to see any distinction between a church or church agency and a non-sectarian charity or enterprise.

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[40] See O. Frederick Nolde, *The Churches and the Nations* (Philadelphia, 1970).

The exercise of religious liberty and the institutional independence of church and state are prerequisite to the authentic mission of the church in society and in the life of the nation. It is, indeed, this independence or non-entanglement of church and state that makes possible true interaction between church and state in public affairs. As one of America's most astute observers has written, "It is basic to the American creed that a society can only be religious if religion and the state are radically separated, and that the state can only be free if society is basically a religious society." [41] Meanwhile, religious liberty is not a gift of the state. Government can neither deny nor grant religious liberty to its citizens. Government can recognize and protect this most sacred of all human rights, but it cannot confer this right on any person, church, or institution. Religious freedom is not a right of the state over the church, but rather a right of the church to be faithful to its Lord and to act independently of the state. This right of the church to be free of accountability to, and control by, the state requires constant vigilance and, in the light of the New Testament, may even require resistance. In the American experience there is no sovereign other than God—not the legislature, not the executive or the judicial branches, not even the people.

The principle of independence or separation of church and state, to the degree that it serves as a guarantee for the free exercise of religion, involves for Baptists the following basic freedoms:

(1) Freedom of conscience in matters of belief and worship.

(2) Freedom of the church and its institutions from state control and/or support.

(3) Freedom from privilege or discriminaton among different churches or different religious communities.

(4) Freedom from civil disability for reasons of religion or irreligion.

(5) Freedom from involuntary support of religion—either by an act of worship or monetary contribution.

(6) Freedom of association in which all religious organizations are recognized as private and voluntary associations.

(7) Freedom of propagation of religion so long as it does not contravene the just civil laws of the state or threaten public health and social order.

For Baptists, the ultimate basis of the free exercise of religion is that which asks only for the right to be free in order to be the church. Separation of the church from the state is necessary, therefore, not only so that the church may be free, but, more importantly, that it may be pure! Just as the goal of the separation of church and state is a free church, so the goal of the separation principle in American jurisprudence is a free society. The rationale of church-state separation has been, and remains, to help assure both a free church and a free society. It is toward this free society in church and state that the First Amendment needs to be applied by government, and it is within this context that Baptists believe it needs to be understood and defended by the churches.

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[41] Peter F. Drucker, "Organized Religion and the American Creed," *The Review of Politics* 13 (July 1956) 296.

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ferent sizes of print is esthetically unfortunate. There is no reason why the size of print of the Greek text should be so large and bold in contrast to the English translation. The purposes of the interpretive commentary can also be accommodated by two and not three different sizes of print. In terms of layout, finally, the extremely brief appendices on the above mentioned Greek terms can most relevantly fit in the course of the interpretive commentary in the smallest size of print.

The above constructive critique does not intend to take away from the value of Father Tarazi's unprecedented Orthodox commentary in English. This is a useful and commendable work which breaks new ground in Orthodox publications and offers a promise that future commentaries in this series will be even more substantial.

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Contemporary Eastern Orthodox Thought: The Traditionalist Voice. By Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Belmont, Mass.: Nordland House Publishers, 1982. Pp. 112 + index.

This small book, written by Archimandrite Chrysostomos together with Hieromonk Auxentios and Hierodeacon Akakios, is not a book which everyone will like. However, it is a book which I suspect everyone should read. It puts forth a number of issues of theological thought with an uncompromising rigidity that some will find discomforting. Yet, despite this possible discomfort, the insight into theological matters evidenced by the author and contributors is rarely found in contemporary spiritual writers. Moreover, the rigidity of the thoughts expressed is not the result of some personal style or theological preoccupation, but simply an expression of the strong commitment of the authors to what they call their 'traditionalist' view of Orthodoxy.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos has prefaced his book with an introduction which is both sobering and challenging. In a few pages he seems to touch on all of the spiritual and social ills that beset the struggles of Orthodox immigrants and converts in the West. It could easily be separated from the body of the book and stand as a statement of some worth in and of itself. As an integral part of the book, it adequately summarizes the issues discussed in the ensuing chapters.

Though written as a handbook for Orthodox laymen and students of the Orthodox Church, there are a few chapters in the book which, indeed, are a bit 'weighty' for the casual reader. The first two chapters, which are on the nature of God and on the historiographical traditions of the Byzantine Church, demand some familiarity with theological and historical jargon. They are important and, in some ways, brilliant statements; but they stand as a potential flaw in the book in that a casual reader might fail to read on into the book and find the less academic gems hidden therein.

As regards these gems, there are several essays in the book which should become standard reading for all Orthodox Christians. They are filled with practical, pointed advice that no serious student of Christian thought can ignore. The comparative consideration of Scripture and tradition in Orthodox and non-Orthodox traditions is timely and tremendously useful. The three essays on Orthodox mysticism (chapters 4,5, and 6) are nothing less than 'catechisms in miniature' that are replete with mature, spiritual advice gleaned from obviously deep patristic knowledge and spiritual experience.

The last three chapters of the book (7, 8, and 9) are of particular interest to the student of religious psychology and to historians or sociologists concerned with Eastern Orthodox populations in the U.S. Father Chrysostomos presents a compelling and shrewd analysis of the process of assimilation of Orthodox populations into American culture, carefully analyzing their psychological motives and the consequences of assimilation for their spiritual life. Chapter 7, "Cultural *Paradosis* and Orthodox America," is an essay that every Orthodox ethnic should carry with him. Chapter 8, a discussion of the Greek Old Calendarists, is one which will also cause discomfort to many readers. It is clear indictment of all of us, regardless of our jurisdictions, in failing to understand a large group of the faithful who have been relegated to the backwaters of Orthodox life.

There are few faults that one can find with this small volume. Some typographical errors interrupt the flow of the text. This first printing leaves something to be desired in terms of clarity of print. (I have been told that a second printing is soon to be made and that its execution will be of first quality.) Also, Father Chrysostomos includes one point of misinformation in his discussion of the Old Calendarist Orthodox in America. Bishop Petros of Astoria has not decided to join the Old Calendar Synod of Metropolitan

Kallistos of Corinth, as reported in the text. Rather, after requesting to be received into the Synod, he failed to move on the Synod's acceptance of his petition.

But these flaws are minor and cannot possibly compromise the excellence of this superb volume. It is a rare book, written by one of the few traditionalist Orthodox thinkers who can remain both objective and unwaveringly committed to his traditionalism. The book should be considered essential and indispensable by every serious student of the Eastern Church. Its author should be considered one of the most capable and brilliant spokesmen for Orthodox traditionalists (Old Calendarists).

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CHRESTOS PATITSAS

KENOSIS ACCORDING TO SAINT PAUL

Kenosis, or 'emptying' (of oneself), occupies a central place in Saint Paul's understanding of Christ and Christian existence and, therefore, has a profound influence on his own spirituality and on the character of his moral exhortations to his communities. The concern of this paper will be to elucidate the Pauline understanding of kenosis as it relates to Christ, the apostle himself, and the communities which he founded.

Saint Paul's understanding of Christ as a kenotic figure is presented most clearly in two main passages: 2 Cor 8:9 and Phil 2:3-11. In his second letter to the Corinthians he mentions Christ's self-emptying in the terminology of "rich" and "poor." He is speaking to them of the collection of money he is making for the "relief of the saints" (2 Cor 8:4) of Jerusalem, and exhorting them to be generous in their giving. In this context he brings forth Christ as an example saying, " For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was rich, yet for your sake He became poor, so that by this poverty you might become rich" (2 Cor 8:9). He is not inferring that Christ gave up material riches. Rather, as Saint John Chrysostom interprets it, Saint Paul is saying that Christ "emptied himself of His glory,"[1] the glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world (Jn 17:24). Nor is Saint Paul inferring that Christ was an especially destitute man. Rather, again as Chrysostom asserts, Paul is speaking of "His taking on flesh and becoming man and suffering what He suffered." [2] Thus, Paul is defining for us in broad outlines the nature of Christ's kenosis. He gave us a great wealth of glory and honor to accept humiliation, suffering, and ignominy for our sakes, that we might be raised up to a wealth of spiritual riches.

The word ἐκένωσεν itself is used in Phil 2:6. It derives from the root word κενόω, meaning "to make empty" or "to deprive of content of possession." [3] Here the ideal attitude and example of kenosis is described clearly in its full cosmic dimension. Christ, who was in the form of God (μορφῇ Θεοῦ), emptied himself (ἑαυτόν ἐκένωσεν), taking the form of a servant (μορφὴν δούλου λαβών). The depth of the condescension and self-emptying is dependent upon the meaning for Saint Paul of the words

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[1] John Chrysostom, "Homilies on First and Second Corinthians," *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, 1975), 12, p. 360.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Albrecht Oepke, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel (Grand Rapids, 1967), 3, 9. 661.

"μορφῄ Θεοῦ" and "μορφή δοῦλου." The Arian cause interpreted μορφῇ Θεοῦ as allowing for the creaturely status of the Son. In their interpretation, Paul is saying that the creature, namely the Son, Christ, "did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped" (Phil 2:6), but gave up His status of glory in heaven, took flesh, and became man. Chrysostom's rebuttal is a two-nature exegesis of the passage. In his homily on Philippians one reads the following:

> What shall we say against Arios who asserts the Son is of a different substance [than the Father]? Tell me now, what means 'He took the form of a servant'? It means He became man. Wherefore, 'being in the form of God,' He was God. For one 'form' and another 'form' is named; if one be true, the other also. 'The form of a servant' means Man by nature, wherefore 'the form of God' means God by nature.[4]

For Chrysostom, Saint Paul is clearly setting forth the two natures of Christ—the preexistent divine nature and the created human nature. He also points out that Paul is bringing this doctrinal assertion into the context of an exhortation to humility. He argues that for a creature to "not count equality with God a thing to be grasped" is not anything to be admired at all and is surely not an example of humility. First of all, it is impossible for a creature to be equal to God. So if a creature refrains from doing this, it is not out of humility, but necessity.[5] Chrysostom explains, "He who is lowly minded, when he has it in his power to be high minded, is humble; but he who is so because he is not able to be high minded is no longer humble." [6] He reinforces the absurdity of the Arian position when he asks, "Because a man has not seized on a rule and an honor which was not his due, is he praiseworthy?" [7] He maintains that Saint Paul wanted to show the great person subjecting himself to the lesser: "But since he (Paul) found not this distinction in the case of God...he made at least an equality. Now if the Son were inferior, this was not a sufficient example to lead us to humility, for the lesser not to rise against the greater, not to snatch at rule, and to be 'obedient unto death.' " [8] Chrysostom develops another argument from the context of the passage. He points out that Saint Paul is exhorting "the free to obey the free" [9] and men "of equal honor with each other" [10] to be subject to one another, "each counting the other better than themselves" (Phil 2:3). He is telling people who have no duties of obedience and honor to each other (unlike in a master-slave, parent-child, ruler-ruled, husband-wife relationship) to live as though they did for love's sake (Phil 2:1-4). In this way they will have the same mind as Christ who did not grasp at equality with God. Thusly, Chrysostom argues that Paul is saying that Christ the Son is equal to the Father. Otherwise, Saint Paul couldn't have used Christ as an example of obedience and honor between equals.[11] The object Paul had in bringing forth Christ as an example was to call the Philippians to love which gives up what is rightfully its own and treats others as though they were better, for their sake and for their best interest, not one's own. Christ can only be an example of this kind of love if He is in fact God, equal to the Father with whom He deserves equal honor and glory, but who out of love for His Father and for humankind emptied himself of all that was rightfully His—glory, honor, and dominion—and became man, taking the form of a slave, obedient to His Father unto death, and of all deaths the most ignonimous, the death on the cross. So then, the real humility to which Paul is exhorting the Philippians can only be understood when Christ is understood to be God himself who has become man for the sake of humankind. "The Arian Christ could never be a real example of humility to the same degree." [12] Indeed, it might be said that the kenosis of the Christ of Paul surpasses the kenosis of the Arian Christ to the same degree that the uncreated essence of God surpasses the created essence. A closer analysis of kenosis as exemplified in the divine Christ of Saint Paul can now be made.

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[4] John Chrysostom, "Homilies on Philippians," *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, 1956), 13, p. 207.

[5] Ibid., p. 208.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p. 209.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

The kenosis of Christ is, first of all, freely made. It has already been pointed out by Chrysostom that for someone to be lowly minded by necessity is not humility. One must empty himself freely. This Christ did. Saint Paul says Christ "emptied himself" and "humbled himself." In this manner, Paul shows the autonomy and free choice of Christ. But Christ's kenosis was not individualistic or self-directed either. Rather, his becoming man and dying on the cross expressed a unity of will with the Father to whom He was "obedient unto death, even death on a cross" (Phil 2:8). Remembering what was illustrated previously, namely that Christ was himself God, equal to the Father in essence, glory, authority, power, honor, worship, etc., one can begin to understand the depth of Christ's kenosis. The Son of God gave up all He had. He emptied himself of all glory and honor which was rightfully due Him. And He became man. His divine essence, though it remained unchanged, was veiled as He took the form of a servant (Phil 2:7). He appeared "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rm 8:3). Chrysostom reflects in amazement, "That God should become man is great, unspeakable, and inexpressible humility."[13] What is more, He suffered and died unjustly. He accepted humiliation and shame on the cross. As Saint Paul writes to the Galatians, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us—for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree' " (Gal 3:13). Saint John Chrysostom summarizes by saying:

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Maurice F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 82.

> As was His height, such was the correspondent humiliation which He underwent.... Truly it is a great and unspeakable thing, that He became a servant; that He underwent death is far greater; but there is something still greater and more strange. Why? All deaths are not alike; His death seemed to be the most ignominous of all, to be full of shame, to be accursed.[14]

But the kenosis of Christ is not fully appreciated unless one realizes that He emptied himself for the sake of the whole world, for its salvation, while that world was yet undeserving. Saint Paul writes to the Romans, "For Christ did not please himself; but as it is written, 'The reproaches of those who reproached thee fell on me' " (Rom 15:3). And to the Corinthians he writes, "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was rich, yet for your sake He became poor, so that by His poverty you might become rich" (2 Cor 8:8). And, finally, to the Romans he teaches:

> While we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly. Why, one will hardly die for a righteous man—though perhaps for a good man one will dare to die. But God shows His love for us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Since, therefore, we are now justified by His blood, much more shall we be saved by Him from the wrath of God. For if while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, now that we are reconciled, shall we be saved by His life (Rom 5:6-10).

In these passages Saint Paul reveals the depth of Christ's kenosis to be even more inexpressible. All that He does He does selflessly. He takes the form of a servant and dies a humiliating death not that He might bestow life upon friends, but that He might save the "ungodly," the "sinners," the "enemies" of God—those who hate Him and His Father (Rom 1:30; Jn 15:24). Such is the depth of Christ's kenosis.

There are those, however, who deny the full divinity of Christ and so elect to interpret His subsequent exaltation (Phil 2:9-11) as an exaltation of His "divine" nature to a higher level at which He possesses the "name...above every name." By this dangerous interpretation, Christ is no longer completely selfless in his condescension. On the contrary, He profits greatly from it! Such a Christ is not the example of humility and selflessness that St. Paul seeks to give (Phil 2:3-5). Against this position, it is not necessary to once again defend Saint Paul's belief in the full divinity of Christ,[15] except to point out that Paul is declaring that Christ will be worshipped and confessed as Lord by all (Phil 2:9-11). A Jew, especially a Pharisee as Saint Paul was (Phil 3:5), could not give such adoration to any but the Lord God.[16] The only possible conclusion is that Paul believed Christ to be his Lord and God. Therefore, he would not have considered Christ's divine nature to have gained anything from the exaltation (for man's worship can never make God any greater). The Lord's kenosis would be preserved. Chrysostom concurs. He interprets the passage to be a description of the exaltation not of the divine nature, but of the human nature of the incarnate Logos, Jesus the Christ.[17] This patristic interpretation is founded securely in the New Testament which is unanimous in proclaiming the empty tomb, the bodily resurrection and the bodily ascension of Jesus Christ to glory.[18] Saint Paul is not excluded from this group of unanimous witnesses to the resurrection and exaltation of the human nature of Christ.[19] A careful analysis of this teaching in Paul's epistles reveals that the depth of Christ's kenosis is not only not compromised by his subsequent exaltation, but actually accented. The amazing thing running through all the New Testament confessions about the risen and exalted Lord is that He remains incarnate.[20] In some places it is even made clear that this risen Lord still bears the scars of His suffering and death on the cross. For instance, in John's gospel the risen Lord miraculously appears among his disciples though the doors are closed and commands the doubting Thomas saying, "Put your finger here and see my hands; and put out your hand, and place it in my side; do not be faithless, but believing" (Jn 20:27). In Luke's gospel Christ confronts their unbelief by saying, "See my hands and feet" (Lk 24:39). Can it be inferred from Saint Paul's words, "I bear on my body the marks of Jesus" (Gal 6:17) that the Lord Jesus still bears the marks of His crucifixion in His understanding as well? This permanence of the incarnation of the Son of God even in His resurrection and exaltation is as significant as it is paradoxical. His appearing in "the form of a servant" was clearly a kenotic event. His death on the cross was even more so. But instead of the exaltation being a clear breaking away of the Son of God from His intimate association with such humiliating events, it is a permanent identification of these with Him. Humanely speaking, only fools would ever desire that their moments of greatest shame, suffering, weakness, and humiliation be remembered by anyone. Yet Christ the Lord calls His exaltation and glory that permanent identification of himself with these very things. In a sense He has chosen to forever remain "a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men" (1 Cor 4:9), a scandal to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks (1 Cor 1:23). Such is the inexpressible mystery of the love of God which calls glory that unsurpassable humiliation which brings salvation to humankind. So rather than minimizing His kenosis, Christ's exaltation as incarnate Lord makes it permanent, holds it up to view for the whole creation to see, not to His shame any longer, for now God has shown this humble servant to be the triumphant victor over sin, death, and the devil (1 Cor 15:25-27), but that now all may know that the Incarnate Jesus is Lord and God above all.

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[13] Chrysostom, 13, p. 214.

[14] Ibid., p. 215.

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[15] See Rom 9:5; Phil 2:6-7; 2 Cor 5:19; Col 1:15, 19, 2:9.

[16] See Ex 20:2:5, 34:14; Is 46:9, 37:16, 20.

[17] Wiles, *Divine Apostle*, pp. 82, 86.

[18] See Jn 20 and 21; Lk 24; Mk 16; Mt 28; Acts 1:1-11, 2:23-24, 31-33, 3:15.

[19] See 1 Cor 9:1, 15:4-8; Eph 4:10, 1:20-23.

[20] As in footnote 19.

Saint Paul's Kenosis

Nothing could be clearer than the fact that Saint Paul exemplified in his life the kenosis which was so evident in his Lord. However, the kenosis of the apostle must be understood in the context of one important occasion in his life—the occasion of his calling by the risen Lord on the road to Damascus. There the law-centered Saul emptied himself and became the Christ-centered Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles without the Law. The evidence for the centrality of the Law in Paul's life before his critical experience on the road to Damascus is overwhelming. By his own reckoning he was "circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews" (Phil 3:5). To the Romans he says, "I myself am an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, a member of the tribe of Benjamin" (Rom 11:1). And in a speech before Ananias, the high priest, he exclaims, "Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees" (Acts 23:6). To the Philippians he writes, "as to the law a Pharisee" (Phil 3:5). About the quality and strictness of his study of the Law he says he was "in this city [Jerusalem] at the feet of Gamaliel, educated according to the strict manner of the law" (Acts 22:3). Even the pagans speak of his "great learning" (Acts 26:25). In regard to his manner of life under the law one hears only positive affirmations. He tells the high priest and the council, "Brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience up to this day" (Acts 23:1). To the Philippians he exclaims, "as to righteousness under the law blameless' (Phil 3:6). So confident is he that he is beyond reproach that he even calls those who persecute him to testify on his behalf saying, "My manner of life from my youth, spent from the beginning among my own nation and at Jerusalem, is known by all the Jews. They have known for a long time, if they are willing to testify, that according to the strictest party of our religion I have lived as a Pharisee" (Acts 26:4-5). What is more, he was zealous for God and His Law (Acts 22:3, Phil 3:6). As he tells the Galatians, "I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers" (Gal 1-14). In such a spirit of zeal for the Law, he persecuted the Church (Acts 8:3, 9:1-2, 22:3-6, 26:9-12) and consented to the death of Stephen, a Hellenistic Jewish Christian, who preached Christ without the Law (Acts 6:11-14, 8:1). With the intention of continuing his persecution of the Church, he was going toward Damascus when the risen Lord appeared to him (Acts 9:1-9, 22:4-11, 26:12-19; 1 Cor 15:8-10, 9:1). This same risen Lord at once commanded him to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles without the Law (Acts 9:15, 22:15, 26:17, Gal 1:11-12, 16, 2:2-5, 16, 21, 5:11) and promised him much suffering for the sake of the Gospel (Acts 9:16). This two-fold message of the risen Lord to the zealous Pharisee became the foundation of Saint Paul's life of kenosis.

Henceforth, Paul would say of all he had once valued so highly:

> But whatever gain I had, I counted as loss for the sake of Christ. Indeed, I count everything as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For His sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain Christ and be found in Him [Phil 3:7-9a].

Saint Paul emptied himself of all things. He, who prided himself in his Jewish birth "of the tribe of Benjamin," began to preach a Gospel in which "there is neither Jew nor Greek...for...all are one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28). He who was a privileged "descendant of Abraham" then exclaimed, "And if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise" (Gal 3:29). He who had gloried in his circumcision on the eighth day, thereafter testifed: "But far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.... For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation" (Gal 6:14-15). The zealous Pharisee who had surpassed all others in strictness and adherence to the Law, and had enjoyed the respect, honor, and admiration of his peers, began to preach a "Christ [who] is the end of the law" (Rom 10:4) and received derision and persecution from those who had once lauded him. The man who had led the persecution against the Church at once emptied himself of his position of notoriety and leadership and became its servant (Rom 1:11). He who had previously considered himself blameless regarding righteousness under the law exchanged that enviable position for a Gospel which preached that "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God (Rom 3:23)...for no human being will be justified in His [God's] sight by works of the law" (Rom 3:20). This man of "robust conscience" under the law, who could have prided himself for "upholding" it even unto persecuting the Church, acknowledged his guilt in having done so saying, "I formerly blasphemed and persecuted and insulted Him [Jesus Christ]...and [so] I am the foremost of sinners" (1 Tim 1:13, 15). He who had more reason than most for "confidence in the flesh" (Phil 3:4) counted it all as refuse in order to gain Christ. He emptied himself of everything for Christ's sake.

These things in themselves constituted a great kenosis, but Saint Paul was called to something still greater—a life of pain, suffering, imprisonment, derision, and death for the sake of Christ Jesus his Lord. A rare catalogue of Saint Paul's sufferings is given in a letter to the Corinthians who were scandalized by his weakness and hypnotized by false apostles that exploited the Church and boasted openly of their supposed "credentials" of apostleship.[21] Paul is compelled by his concern for their welfare to defend his apostleship and reluctantly does so with boasts of his suffering for Christ's sake:

> Are they [the false apostles] servants of Christ? I am a better one—I am talking like a madman—with far greater labors, far more imprisonments, with countless beatings, and often near death. Five times I have received, at the hands of the Jews, the forty lashes less one. Three times I have been beaten with rods; once I was stoned. Three times I have been shipwrecked; a night and a day I have been adrift at sea; on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, danger from robbers, danger from wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brethren; in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, in hunger and thirst, often without food, in cold and exposure. And, apart from other things, there is the daily pressure upon me of my anxiety for all the churches [2 Cor 11:23-28].

Chrysostom is quick to point out that even Paul's boasting is not for self-aggrandizement, but for the welfare and salvation of his hearers.[22]

Once again, for the salvation of his hearers, Paul refers to his sufferings in Christ and contrasts them in a highly ironical fashion to the supposed "wisdom" and "spiritual excellence" of certain members of the community there.[23]

> Already you are filled! Already you have become rich! Without us you have become kings! And would that you did reign, so that we might share the rule with you! For I think God has exhibited us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death; because we have become a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men. We are fools for Christ's sake, but you are wise in Christ. We are weak, but you are strong. You are held in honor, but we in disrepute. To the

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[21] Glen W. Barker, William L. Lane, J. Ramsey Michaels, *The New Testament Speaks* (New York, 1969), p. 184.

[22] John Chrysostom, *In Praise of St. Paul*, trans. Thomas Halton (Boston, 1963), pp. 83-84.

[23] Victor Paul Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville and New York, 1968), p. 222.

> present hour we hunger and thirst, we are all ill-clad and buffeted and homeless, and we labor, working with our own hands. When reviled, we bless; when persecuted, we endure; when slandered, we try to conciliate; we have become, and are now, as the refuse of the world, the off-scouring of all things [1 Cor 4:8-13].

The suffering and kenosis of Saint Paul is further illustrated by his readiness to give up rights and privileges which belonged to an apostle if he could thereby upbuild the Church. In a letter to the Corinthians once again, Saint Paul mentions his rights and privileges as an apostle among which he lists—"the right to...food and drink, the right to be accompanied by a wife," and the "right to refrain from working," e.g., to "reap material benefits" from those to whom they preach the Gospel (1 Cor 9:4-6, 11, 14). After making clear what is actually due him he says, "Nevertheless, we have not made us of this right, but we endure anything rather than put an obstacle in the way of the Gospel of Christ (1 Cor 9:12). He says the same to the Thessalonians, "For you remember our labor and toil, brethren; we worked night and day, that we might not burden any of you, while we preached to you the Gospel of God" (1 Th 2:9)[24] Saint Paul tries to always seek the advantage of others rather than his own advantage so that more people might be saved.[25] He is even willing to become a slave of all men and adapt to their customs and weaknesses that he might by all means save some.[26] In just such a spirit he had Timothy, a Greek, circumcised, shaved his own head, and purified himself in the temple though he was a man who put no faith in the law.[27] Saint Paul is willing and eager to empty himself even for the sake of his enemies. He says of those who have persecuted him and opposed the Gospel (the Jews),[28] "I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen by race" (Rom 9'3). And to those who had opposed him at Corinth he says, "I will gladly spend and be spent for your souls" (2 Cor 12:15). His only goal is that he "may present every man mature in Christ" (Col 1:28). As he tells his son Timothy, "Therefore, I endure everything for the sake of the elect, that they also may obtain salvation in Christ Jesus with its eternal glory" (2 Tim 2:10).

Finally, Saint Paul gives a beautiful summary of his life of kenosis with these words to the Galatians: "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" [Gal 2:20]. The kenotic path, which his Lord and God Jesus Christ walked, he also walks. Metaphorically, he is crucified with Him. From then on it is no longer Paul who lives, but Christ who lives in Paul. Saint Paul has freely given up his own desires, achievements, glories, pleasures, and passions—all things—that he might submit his will to Christ as Christ's slave (Rom 1:1). He no longer lives in a self-directed manner, but in obedience to the will of Christ, "For necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the Gospel" (1 Cor 9:16). He preaches the Gospel without the law despite the tribulations he suffers. All of this Saint Paul does for Christ's sake because Christ first loved Paul and emptied himself for him and the whole world.

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[24] Saint Paul was a tentmaker: Acts 18:3.

[25] See 1 Cor 10:33.

[26] See 1 Cor 9:19-23.

[27] John Chrysostom, "Homiles on Acts and Romans," *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, 1975), 11, p. 278.

[28] See 1 Th 2:14-16.

Exhortations to Kenosis

Saint Paul was a kenotic apostle of a kenotic Lord. It is not surprising then to find that his moral exhortations often consisted of exhortations to selflessness, self-sacrifice, humility, and the like. These exhortations to kenosis were of two major types—one general, the other specific.[29] In addressing the concrete moral dilemmas of his communities, Saint Paul combines general exhortation to a principle with specific instructions about how to live the Christian life. On several occasions this general exhortation consists of a command to imitate Christ or the apostle himself [as an imitator of Christ, 1 Cor 11:1]. It will be shown below that in these cases he is actually exhorting them to an imitation of the kenosis of Christ, a kenosis which Paul also exemplified.

In his letter to the Philippians, Saint Paul's teaching on Christ's kenosis (Phil 2:5-11) and his witness to his own kenosis (Phil 3:5-11) form the basis of his exhortation, "Brethren, join in imitating me, and mark those who so live as you have an example in us" [Phil 3:17]. Against the Judaizers who wished to force circumcision upon Gentile Christians, Paul described himself as one who counts all reason for confidence in the flesh as refuse and who seeks only to know Christ, share in His sufferings, and become like Him in his death so that, if possible, he might attain the resurrection of the dead.[30] He exhorts his people to imitate him in humble suffering and self-emptying for Christ's sake. Specifically, this means they must, above all, not put confidence in the flesh as do those "dogs" and "evil-workers...who mutilate the flesh" (Phil 3:2).

Probably with the discord between Euodia and Syntyche in mind (two women of Phillippi who had labored with Paul for the Gospel),[31] Saint

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[29] Furnish, *Theology*, p. 73.

[30] See Phil 3:4, 8, 10-11.

[31] See Phil 4:2-3.

Paul instructs:

> Complete my joy by being of the same mind, having the same love, being in full accord and of one mind. Do nothing from selfishness, or conceit, but in humility count others better than yourselves. Let each of you look not only to his own interests, but also to the interests of others. Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus, who...[Phil 2:2-5].

There follows the description of the grand kenosis of Christ who, though being equal to the Father, out of love, emptied himself of all due glory and honor and took the form of a servant. Saint Paul holds up Christ's kenosis as an example for these quarelling women to follow. The reason for the argument does not become the center of Paul's exhortation, nor do questions of who is 'right' and who is 'wrong.' Instead, he focuses on each woman's responsibility to imitate her Lord in emptying herself of everything—self-interest, a position of equal honor and respect, and anything else which might be preventing the healing of the rift, that each might begin to serve the interests of her fellow in preference to her own.

The strong link between "the imitation of Christ" (and "the imitation of Paul") and kenosis in Paul's letter to the Philippians is furthered by his identification of those who "live as enemies of the cross of Christ" (the greatest symbol of Christ's kenosis) with men whose lives are the antithesis of selflessness and humility (Phil 3:18, 19). These men serve and glory in hedonistic and shameful pursuits. Paul and those who imitate him, on the other hand, do not serve these shameful and self-centered pursuits, but "await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Phil 3:20). Their lives are not focused on themselves and how they might please themselves, but on the Lord and how they might please Him.

This link is not restricted to Paul's epistle to the Philippians. In his letter to the Romans he exhorts the stronger "to bear with the failings of the weak and not to please" themselves as "Christ did not please himself; but, as it is written, 'the reproaches of those who reproached thee fell on me.' "[32] In Rome there seemed to be a controversy over food. The stronger believed he could "eat anything" (rom 14:2), while the weak would eat "only vegetables" (Rom 14:2). The exact nature of the controversy is not clear and does not concern us here. The significant thing is that in Saint Paul's handling of the situation he holds up Christ's kenosis as an example the 'stronger' should follow toward the 'weak.' Rather than telling the weak, "You are being silly; eat whatever is offered," he asks the stronger to condescend to the frailty of the weak. He tells them, "Everything is indeed clean, but it is wrong for anyone to make others fall by what he eats; it is right not to eat meat or drink wine or do anything that makes your brother stumble" [Rom 14:20, 21]. The

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[32] See Rom 15:1-3.

'stronger' are being asked to lay aside their rightful privileges and not please themselves. By willingly suffering the loss of rights and pleasures for the sake of their brethren that they may not be led into sin, they will be imitating Christ who did not please himself, but suffered unjustly for the sake of weak humankind.

To the Corinthians who were divided about whether it was permissible to eat meat which had been offered to idols, Saint Paul exhorts, "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1). That this is actually an exhortation to kenosis is evident from the context of his whole argument (chapters 8-10). Paul labels the two factions in Corinth as 'the weak'—those whose consciences were defiled by eating idol meats, and the 'men of knowledge'—those who knew idols had "no real existence" and, therefore, ate whatever they pleased (1 Cor 8:4, 9, 10). First, he criticizes the 'men of knowledge' by saying, "Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up" (1 Cor 8:1). They may have the 'knowledge' and 'liberty' to eat whatever they want, but that is not the real issue. In fact, their 'knowledge' had only succeeded in making them haughty. The real issue is whether one's actions build up or destroy one's brother (1 Cor 8:1). In this regard, they had failed miserably. By improper use of their freedom and knowledge they were leading 'the weak' into actions which were against their consciences (1 Cor 8:7, 9-12).[33] Thereby, 'the weak' were not being built up, but destroyed. Saint Paul then makes a pledge which he hopes will become the pattern for their behavior, "If food is a cause of my brother's falling, I will never eat meat, lest I cause my brother to fall" (1 Cor 8:13). Saint Paul is willing to empty himself of his rights, liberties, and superior knowledge for the benefit of his weak brother. His command to "imitate me" is an exhortation to imitate him in such kenotic behavior.

Chapter nine may at first glance seem to be a tangent having nothing to do with idol meats, but in reality it is a description in a wider context of how the apostle has been an example of the kenosis to which he has just exhorted them. Saint Paul calls to their attention that although they owe him material support for himself and even a wife (for the Law says so), he has given up this right, gone without a wife, and provided for his own sustenance, enduring all things and becoming their servant that he might bring salvation to more souls. So when he returns to the subject of idol meats, his exhortation bears much weight when he says, "Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor" (1 Cor 10:24). With this kenotic principle governing their behavior, he permits them to eat meat sold in the marketplace without first asking whether it had been offered to idols. He also allows them to eat dinner at the homes of unbelievers without asking questions. However, if someone says to them, "This has been offered in sacrifice," then for the sake of the conscience of the one who informed them they are to refrain from eating (1 Cor 10:25-29). Why should someone's scruples govern their liberty? Paul's answer is a restatement of his own example: "Give no offense to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God, just as I try to please all men in everything I do, not seeking my own advantage, but that of many, that they may be saved. Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" [1 Cor 10:32-11:1]. From having analyzed the whole context of Paul's argument, one has seen that the real content of his exhortation to the general principle of imitating the apostle as he imitates Christ[34] is that they imitate his kenosis for the salvation of others.

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[33] See Rom 14:23; Doing something against one's conscience is sinful, "for whatever does not proceed from faith is sin."

In another place Saint Paul exhorts the Corinthians, "Be imitators of me. Therefore, I sent to you Timothy, my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, to remind you of my ways in Christ..." (1 Cor 4:16-17). When considered in the context of the passage preceding it, this too can be understood as an exhortation to kenosis. Paul is addressing the division in the Corinthian church which had partly been caused by certain arrogant men who prided themselves in their supposed "wisdom," "knowledge," and "kingly" spiritual status.[35] After first belittling their supposed wisdom by calling it "folly" and "futile" (1 Cor 3:19-20), he mocks their "spiritual kingship" in a highly ironical passage:[36]

> Already you are filled! Already you have become rich! Without us you have become kings! And would that you did reign, so that we might share the rule with you! For I think God has exhibited us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death; because we have become a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men. We are fools for Christ's sake, but you are wise in Christ. We are weak, but you are strong. You are held in honor, but we in disrepute. To the present hour we hunger and thirst, we are ill-clad and buffeted and homeless, and we labor, working with our own hands. When reviled, we bless; when persecuted, we endure; when slandered, we try to conciliate; we have become, and are now, as the refuse of the world, the off-scouring of all things [1 Cor 4:8-13].

The contrast between their supposed 'spiritual excellence' and the suffering, dishonor, and hardship of true servants of Christ is readily apparent (1 Cor 4:1). The message is clearly that the true servant of Christ is not one with head knowledge and intellectual insight, but one who suffers all things and empties himself of all things for Christ's sake. Such a servant counts even his knowledge as nothing to boast of (1 Cor 4:7). The 'wisdom party' can imitate Paul and follow his 'way in Christ' by emptying itself of all supposed knowledge and humbly living the life of a servant—a life of suffering, hardship, and dishonor for Christ's sake.

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[34] Paraphrase of 1 Cor 11:1.

[35] See 1 Cor 3:1-4, 18-23, 4:6-13.

[36] Furnish, *Theology*, p. 222.

The above analysis of Paul's general exhortations to imitate Christ or the apostle himself has verified that the essential content of this exhortation is a call to the same kenosis which Christ and his servant Paul exemplified. The application of "the imitation of Christ" and "the imitation of Paul" to specific problems within the communities has also been explored. It remains to analyze several passages in which Paul exhorts to kenotic behavior in a context apart from his general exhortation to imitate Christ.

The theme of kenosis governs Saint Paul's handling of the charismatic enthusiasts in Corinth who were "eager for manifestations of the Spirit" (1 Cor 14:12). He tries to redirect their zeal from what edifies only the recipient of the gift, e.g., tongues ("He who speaks in a tongue edifies himself," 1 Cor 14:4), to what edifies the whole Church, e.g., prophesy ("but he who prophesies edifies the church," 1 Cor 14:4). This is consistent with his teaching elsewhere—to not seek one's own advantage, but the advantage of the many; to not please himself, but all men (1 Cor 10:33). Tongues are not deprecated as something wrong. Saint Paul is glad that he speaks in tongues more than anyone else (1 Cor 14:18). He wants them all to speak in tongues (1 Cor 14:5). Yet he desires even more than they prophesy because "he who prophesies speaks to men for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation" (1 Cor 14:3, 5). Of himself he says, "In church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue" (1 Cor 14:19). Saint Paul willingly empties himself of what greatly edifies him that he might do what edifies the whole Church. His focus is on what benefits, edifies, and builds up the Church. It is only by reason of his kenotic concern for the Church that he redirects the zeal of the "gift-seekers" from tongues to prophesy (1 Cor 14:12, 26).

The theme of kenosis also governs Saint Paul's teachings on forgiveness and nonretaliation. He instructs the Romans:

> Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse them [Rom 12:14]. Repay no one evil for evil [Rom 12:7]. Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.' No, 'if your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him drink; for by so doing you will heap burning coals upon his head.' Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good [Rom 12:19-21].

In the Old Testament, Moses has allowed the people "an eye for an eye" (Lev 24:20). Justice demanded it. Saint Paul, in contradistinction, exhorts his people to empty themselves of the justice due them. Has someone done evil to them? Though justice demands retaliation, Saint Paul forbids them to retaliate. They are to empty themselves of this world's justice for Christ's sake. What is more, they are to do what is altogether unexpected: they are to bless, feed, and give drink to their enemies. They do these things for the enemy's sake that he might be moved to repentance and so be saved.[37] But as for questions of justice, they are to leave them in God's hands.

In two related passages Saint Paul commands: "Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep"; (Rom 12:15) and "Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ" (Gal 6:2). These words are in brilliant contrast to the ethical teachings of the pagans. The Stoic Seneca "could speak of love toward all men, but this love was a completely impersonal feeling." [38] As Enslin describes the Stoic, "He will dry the tears of others, but will not mingle his own with them." [39] This attitude finds its basis in the Stoic value system. Above all else the Stoic valued his serenity of spirit which he equated to true happiness. Therefore, he refused to let anything or anyone, not even a suffering human being, disturb that tranquility.[40] The Stoics knew of duties and obligations to their fellowman, but Sophocles represents them when he says that "all in all I deem a man's first duty is to serve himself" and that the truly wise man's life will be long "because he devotes every possible part of it to himself." [41] Such attitudes were completely foreign to the apostle and his teachings. Paul bears witness to his own kenosis in this regard when he asks, "Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to fall, and I am not indignant?" (2 Cor 11:29). As Saint Paul teaches, a Christian empties himself of his joy to experience the sorrow of another and so weeps with those who weep. A Christian empties himself of his sorrow to experience the joy of another and so rejoices with those who rejoice. He willingly lays aside the coveted serenity of the Stoics to help bear the burdens of those who are too weak to bear them alone. In all things, Paul exhorts the Christian to seek the advantage and benefit of his neighbor at no small personal cost to himself (1 Cor 10:33).

Both in his general exhortations to the principle of imitating Christ and in his specific instructions on Christian living, Saint Paul reveals the kenotic principle to be central. Whether the problem is one of idol meats, vegetarianism, or charismatic enthusiasm, Saint Paul continually refers his communities to the need for the same self-emptying love which was first revealed in Christ their Lord and which is now seen in the apostle himself. The centrality of the principle is not accidental. Rather, it issues forth from the Lord Jesus himself. Though He was God, equal to the Father, He emptied himself of the glory and honor which He rightfully possessed before all ages, veiled His divine essence by taking the nature of man, and suffered the ignominy and pain of crucifixion. This He did for no profit of His own, but for the sake of His enemies—that they might be saved. His exaltation was not a break from such kenotic acts, but a permanent identification of these with Him. And so, in Christ Jesus the Lord, we see revealed the inexpressible mystery of the love of God which calls glory that unsurpassable humiliation which brings salvation to humankind. This is the foundation of Paul's life and moral teaching. Paul, indeed, was the apostle who "worked harder than any of them" (1 Cor 15:10), and the substance of that work was a self-emptying life. On the road to Damascus, the law-centered Saul became the Christ-centered Paul, apostle to the Gentiles without the law. All of what he had formerly counted as gain—his birth, education, righteousness, and zeal—he thereafter counted as loss for the sake of Christ that he might know Him and be found in Him. Furthermore, he suffered pain, imprisonment, derision, and finally death for Christ's sake. In his effort to build up the Church he gave up what few rights and privileges belonged to his apostleship. Even his heart was so completely empty of selfishness and self-direction that he was able to exclaim, "It is not I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (Gal 2:20). Saint Paul's teaching is an expression of his own life of kenosis which, as has been stated, is founded on his Lord's example. It is no wonder then that Saint Paul exhorts his communities and us to empty ourselves of all things—rights, privileges, pleasures, liberties, knowledge, honor, and even justice—that we might somehow help build up the Church and save some souls for Christ's sake.

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[37] The coals mentioned in Rom 12:21 may refer to an Egyptian ritual in which a man gave public evidence of his penitence by carrying a pan of burning coals upon his head. See F.F. Bruce, "The Epistle to the Romans," *The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries*, ed. R.V.G. Tasker (Grand Rapids, 1978), p. 230.

[38] Morton Scott Enslin, *The Ethics of Paul* (New York and London, 1930), p. 235.

[39] Ibid., p. 236.

[40] Ibid., p. 262.

[41] Ibid., p. 284.

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WALTER EMIL KAEGI, JR.

HERAKLIOS AND THE ARABS

The subject of Heraklios and the Arabs deserves reconsideration for many reasons. First of all, Professor F.M. Donner has recently published a fundamental and excellent book entitled *The Early Islamic Conquests*, in which he reexamines the problems of the conquests of Syria and Iraq.[1] He convincingly points to the integrative role of Islam in uniting Arab tribesmen and in the consolidation of the conquests, stressing that without Islam, the conquests are not really intelligible. He emphasizes the relatively small numbers of Arabs who were involved in the conquests, and also the relatively small number of Arabs who settled in Syria immediately following its conquest. He shows that the Arabs had an identifiable military structure to their armies, that they were not inchoate masses or exclusive tribal groupings. His focus is on the Arab tribes: critical elements for both the Byzantine and Muslim policies. In fact, one could say much more about the inadequacy of Byzantine policy towards Arab tribes as a cause for the failure of the Byzantines to defend Palestine and Syria. Donner correctly notes that the initial Arab attacks concentrated on the periphery of Byzantine Syria, not on the major towns or the most fertile agricultural lands. He honestly suspends judgment on the controversy about the precise chronological sequence of events in the conquest of Syria. The tribes of Ghassān and Tanūkh, and the entire problem of Byzantine recruitment and use of Arab tribesmen, warrant much more research, both concerning relevant literary texts and the archaeological evidence concerning Byzantine Palestine and Syria. Donner did not intensively study the Byzantine resistance to the early Arab conquerors. There continues to be a need for more study of Byzantine tactics and strategy on the eve of as well as during Byzantine efforts to devise a successful defense of Syria. Donner gives little attention to Heraklīos' personal role in directing, stiffening, and shaping Byzantine resistance. The important problem of the lack of coordination of the Byzantine military units in and from Egypt with those in Syria and from Asia Minor is also important, as is the overlooked problem of the major role of the Armenians and their relative fighting ability against bedouin. Donner's contrasts between the conquest of Syria and Iraq are persuasive and significant. He makes a persuasive case for the primacy of Arabic source material, that is, its superiority to the incomplete and somewhat misleading although useful Greek sources. His study places research on the Arab conquest of Byzantine territories on an up-to-date and solid foundation, but it does not eliminate the need for investigation of the failure of the Byzantine defenses.

Donner correctly emphasizes the importance of Islam as a cause for the success of the Islamic conquests, and he stresses that these were "Islamic conquests."[2] He concedes that, "There is still much room in such an interpretation for an element of historical accident; the fortuitous weakness of the Byzantines and Sasanians just when the Muslims began their expansion might be cited as a case in point – although even here, one wonders whether the mighty empires were not weaker in the eyes of scholars baffled by the astounding success of the conquests than they were in actual fact."[3] He is right to point out that the Islamic conquests "must be seen as more than a mere accident of history."[4] In his conclusions he concedes: "There can be little doubt, however, that the conquests were made easier by the exhaustion of the Byzantine and Sasanian Empires due to prolonged warfare, the confusion that reigned in the Sasanian ruling house, the disruption caused by recent enemy occupation in Syria and Iraq, the destruction wrought by immense floods in southern Iraq, the disaffection of many of the subjects of the two empires for religious or other reasons, the convenience of inner lines of communication that the Muslims enjoyed, and the like."[5] Yet he argues: "It is not even too rash, perhaps, to suggest that the Islamic conquest might have met with great success even had the Byzantine and Sasanian Empires not been reeling from their recent quarrels."[6] The broader thesis of this excellent book is intelligently stated and documented.

Yet one must note that Byzantium was weakened by protracted warfare. Territory in the Balkans was lost to Slavic and Avaric invaders who were not influenced by Islam; they did not organize a unified government, but Byzantium lost effective control of much territory in the Balkans for many, many decades. Donner's thesis may receive some confirmation from comparing the fortunes of former Byzantine territories in the Balkans and Western Asia, Egypt, and North Africa. The Avars and Slavs occupied much of the former Byzantine Balkans, but failed to establish any single cohesive government. Perhaps this was because they lacked one single unifying leader or religion or other unifying imperative, while the invading Arabs who gained control of former Byzantine Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa were able to create a viable governmental structure, one that Arabs of the pre-Islamic era might have been predicted to be unable to achieve (the remote case of Palmyra in the third century is a very ambiguous one). One may find other explanations, because the Balkans are not similar in many ways to the areas that the Arabs occupied, but the contrasting fortunes of Byzantium's opponents may well be explained in serious part by differing religious beliefs and organization of the respective peoples.

Donner is uncertain whether the conquest of Syria resulted from a conscious early decision of the Muslim elite, or whether "the conquest of Syria and Iraq were merely side effects of the state's drive to consolidate its power over all Arab tribes."[7] He concludes by observing that, "The true causes of the Islamic conquests – currents in the minds of men – will probably remain forever beyond the grasp of historical analysis."[8] This final remark is a sound one, and with this warning, it is appropriate to turn from contemplation of his important work to Byzantine problems in defending Palestine and Syria and Mesopotamia (that is, Upper Mesopotamia) against the invading Arab tribes. Donner's observations concerning the special interest of the Quraysh elite in Syria, their special attention to Syria after its conquest, and their apparent restriction on early immigration of Arabs other than Quraysh into Syria immediately after its conquest are perceptive, but essentially part of Islamic studies and not within the limits of this study, which restricts its scope to Heraklios' efforts to create an effective defense against Arab invaders.

Any discussion of Heraklios and the Arabs should take account of two principal developments: first, the historians' understanding of Heraklios and his reign is taking on sharper focus in the light of numerous recent and prospective publications; and secondly, traditional Arabic sources require rereading in the framework of the latest Byzantine scholarship while some new publications of Arabic texts and revised reeditions of older ones also warrant thorough examination.[9] As excellent as were the magisterial studies of Leone Caetani and M.J. De Goeje, it is necessary to take a new look at familiar Arabic historical sources, in addition, of course, to the sparse Greek ones. One simply cannot achieve an accurate understanding of problems and events by an exclusive reliance on the information from the *Chronographia* of Theophanes (whose handling of chronology and evidence is very far from perfect anyway). There are not inconsiderable problems in using the often divergent Arabic accounts, but they provide the bulk of detailed information. The scholar must make critical judgments about their probable accuracy. Arabic sources can run the gamut, from the relatively recently edited *Kitāb al-Futūḥ (Book of the Conquests)* by Abū Muhammad Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī with its – in my opinion – unquestionably fabulous descriptions of speeches, debates, and dialogues with Heraklios, his general Vahan, their advisers and some Arab emissaries (even though other parts of this history may have great historical value), which can cover several pages of text[10] – to the specific although sometimes confused information in the histories of al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. Yet, even in the latter cases, one must try to ascertain the historian's source for this particular piece of information and try to assess its probable reliability. Some Arabic historians, at least, were interested in the subject of the Islamic conquests to the extent that they wrote detailed historical descriptions and recounted various traditions about it. The extant Greek sources do not provide comparable detail. It is not uncommon for Byzantinists to avoid the use of Arabic sources on the conquests, alleging the difficulty of ascertaining the historical accuracy of these often inconsistent and verbose accounts. One cannot reconstruct the history of the conquests without assessing and using the Arabic sources.

One of the most recently edited sources is the *Ta'rīkh (History)* of Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ al-'Uṣfurī (mid-ninth century).[11] It now provides a coherent, although short, chronological sequence of some of the major campaigns and battles of the Arab conquest of Syria, in contrast to the longer, but disorganized, and somewhat repetitious, inconsistent, and confused accounts of Ṭabarī and ibn al-Athīr. Ibn Khayyāṭ's sequence of campaigns is similar to what De Goeje and Caetani had patiently and carefully deduced from examining those fuller sources from the early and usually reliable al-Balādhurī. Those eminent Arabists, however, did not possess Ibn Khayyāṭ, an early and valuable source. It is noteworthy that his account conforms to their broad estimate of the historical sequence of the principal campaigns.

A significant problem is the degree of credence that the investigator can give to the *Ta'rīkh Futūḥ al-Shām* (*History of the Conquest of Syria*) that is attributed to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī al-Baṣrī. 'Abd al-Mu'nim 'Abd Allāh 'Amir reedited this source in 1970 on the basis of a recently discovered Damascus manuscript.[12] It was the young De Goeje who argued for the unreliability of this account in 1864. Yet Caetani later conceded that it did utilize some information that appears to be authentic, yet is not found elsewhere.[13] The text does contain some details that, in my opinion, indicate the knowledge or use of some source or tradition that emanates from the seventh century. Thus, the history attributes its report on the indiscipline and disorderly conduct of Byzantine troops immediately before the battle of the Yarmūk ultimately to a tribesman from the Arab tribe of Tanūkh (*rajul min Tanūkh*).[14] Independent information confirms that the tribe of Tanūkh did remain loyal to Byzantium until the political and military situation became hopeless in Syria.[15] This ascription of information to someone from this specific tribe conforms to what is otherwise known about the historical situation in the late 630s, including tribal allegiances. Another detail of interest is, surprisingly, found in a speech that is attributed to Emperor Heraklios. Heraklios allegedly reminded his listeners (inhabitants of Syria) of recent Byzantine victory over the Persian King Chosroes II, "the Magi," and "over the Turk who does not know God." The last phrase is an allusion to the Avars. It is only a source with some genuine familiarity with details of the history of Heraklios' reign that would be aware of Heraklios' successes against the Avars; no one could have fabricated such an allusion in the era of the Crusades (the period in which De Goeje guessed that the source was composed).[16] This does not mean that the speech of Heraklios is a literal transcription of what Heraklios said, but it does indicate that the author, or one of his sources, possessed some very specific and accurate information concerning the reign of Heraklios. The modern investigator needs to read this text attentively and not reject it as being out of hand. It is credible that after learning of the impending massing and Arab invasion, Heraklios did strive, as the author of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* asserts, to try to stimulate the local inhabitants to prepare to defend themselves and their property, and to obey the commander whom he was appointing over them.[17] Shortly after citing the above speech of Heraklios, the author claims that Heraklios took up residence at Antioch and "appointed as his deputies over the cities of Syria commanders from his army" (*khalafa umara' min jundihi 'ala madāini al-Shām).*[18] This is a reference to the creation of a sudden emergency military authority over specific cities in Syria and Palestine. There is nothing incredible about this reference, even though there is no corroboration of it in the few Greek sources. One cannot accept all of the narrative of the *Ta'rīkh Futūḥ al-Shām*, because the rhetorical exchanges, and the glamorous scenes of combat, warrant a skeptical reception, yet there does appear to be an authentic and historical core. Furthermore, the author of the *Futūḥ* identifies the Byzantine commander at the battle of Ajnadayn as "Wardān,"[19] strikingly similar to the reference in a very fragmentary early Syriac notice, in which he is called Bryrdn;[20] both of these could represent an Armenian name (Heraklios used Armenians frequently as trustworthy commanders) Vardan. There is no doubt that the text presents problems but its information is not wholly implausible. Vardan was a popular name, among others, for members of the Mamikounian family.

These untranslated Arabic texts do not contradict, in any absolute fashion, what was previously known about Heraklios and the Arabs. They do, however, permit a fuller and more accurate basis for studying problems. The result is somewhat of a shift of emphasis concerning certain topics, such as the extent of the effort of Heraklios to check Arab invaders in the final years of his reign. Because they are untranslated, they have been accessible only to Arabists, who for the most part were not very interested in conquests of Byzantine territory and the related details.

The accumulating evidence from different scholarly publications, and from scraps of information in a number of primary sources, indicates conclusively that the institutional structure of Heraklios' empire at the moment of the Arab conquests was still basically a Late Roman one, not, of course, an unchanged version of Constantinian and Justinianic structures. However, the beginning of the 630s was not what is normally believed to be typical of the Middle Byzantine Period. It certainly was in transition, but the military institutions, including their nomenclature and their actual forms, were still Late Roman. There had been no drastic and comprehensive transformation of Byzantine military institutions in the 620s. The parenthetical and circumstantial traces left in the primary sources reveal a substantially unaltered group of institutions, practices, and terminology. *Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικαί* 42, which is an early source, indicates that the imperial Excubitors were still exercising the role of scrutinizers and organizers of military recruitment, as they had been in the reigns of Justinian I and Maurice, and furthermore, they were employing some form of monetary payment or bounty in the process of recruiting, in the reign of Heraklios, indeed probably immediately after Heraklios' departure from Constantinople in 622.[21] The text does not clarify many points but it does indicate that monetary expenses were involved in raising an army, and by implication, that governmental land grants were not yet the instrument for raising and financing armies (many scholars had already so surmised but *Παραστάσεις* 42 substantially reinforces such assumptions and calculations). The relevance of this for the understanding of Heraklios' relations with the Arabs is an underscoring of the role of money in paying Heraklios' soldiers whether they were Greek, Armenian, or Arab. It makes more comprehensible the significance of the payment and nonpayment of money for the armies of Arabs and non-Arabs whom Heraklios raised to fight the invading Arab tribes from the peninsula. It is well-known, for example, that the refusal of a Byzantine eunuch to pay the normal stipend to Arabs who were allied with Byzantium enraged them and instigated them to desert and show the way to hostile Arab bedouin, as Theophanes and Nikephoros relate.[22] The desertion of those Arabs, however, did not mean that no Arabs received Byzantine funds. The Arabic sources stress that Heraklios and his subordinates did succeed in raising very substantial numbers of friendly Arabs from the tribes of Kalb, Lakhm, Ghassān, and Iyād, and ultimately also from the Tanūkh, to fight against the invading tribesmen from the peninsula.[23] The Christian Arab historian Eutychios states that the local authorities at Damascus complained that they were unable to find sufficient money to pay the large number of soldiers whom the authorities of Heraklios had collected. Therefore, some of these newly recruited tribesmen abandoned ranks and scattered.[24] The references in the *Ta'rīkh Futūḥ al-Shām* to the unruliness of some Byzantine soldiers of General Vahan on the eve of the battle of the Yarmuk are more understandable if one considers that they, many of them, were angry at not having been paid. Their frustration and misconduct was more than any simple bedouin propensity to unruliness – it was a hostile reaction to the failure to provide them with promised funds and provisions.[25] The role of money in the armies of Heraklios was important at the time of the Arab invasions, and it appears to have been important in understanding some of the reasons for the failure to develop an effective defense. Again, soldiers' grievances about delayed or insufficient payments persisted in the Byzantine Empire, surfacing in Byzantine Egypt at the moment of the Arab invasions, and subsiding in the empire – if one can place any trust in the silence of the sources – only in the second half of the seventh century. Perhaps this was due to some change in the method of paying soldiers, or perhaps merely because of the disappearance of relevant sources.[26] In any case, problems in paying soldiers seriously complicated and hindered efforts to develop a coherent and effective Byzantine defense of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The appointment of a *sakellarios* or treasurer to command the Byzantine armies, who was Theodore Trithourios, is important, not only as is usually supposed, for the earliest known reference to the office of *sakellarios*, but also because it underlines the government's need to assure soldiers of its commitment to their regular and full payment of promised funds. There is no evidence that such appointments had any connection with the creation of soldiers' properties (*στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα*), the existence of which is securely attested only much later. Heraklios appointed a *sakellarios* to command soldiers because monetary payments were still crucial in the raising and maintenance of soldiers, and because it appears that there had been problems in assuring the prompt, regular, and full payment of what soldiers expected.[27] All of this is consistent with the continuing role of money in the financing of Heraklios' armies, including those Arabs who were recruited to help to defend and recover Byzantine Palestine and Syria. The appointment of a *sakellarios* to lead an army indicates that the system of financing soldiers was not functioning well, and that the extreme measure of appointing a fiscal official was necessary to try to satisfy soldiers. The old system was strained to the utmost, and urgent expedients were being taken to try to make it function efficiently; this does not necessarily mean that there had thus far been created an entirely new system of financing soldiers by the means of governmental grants of land in return for military services. No text, at any rate, indicates that Byzantine soldiers who defended Syria and Palestine were supporting themselves from grants of land.

The Arabic sources emphasized repeatedly that Armenians and Christian Arabs (Monophysite Christians overwhelmingly, it appears) were the principal constituents of the armies that Heraklios raised to defend Syria and Palestine.[28] The Armenians may well have been recruited in the same fashion as those whom his recruiters had collected in the 620s in Pontos (as *Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικαί* 42 mentions) and Armenia. Vahan or Baanes is cited by Theophanes and Arabic sources as either one of the foremost, or as the foremost Byzantine commander before and at the battle of Yarmūk, and it is probable that there were other Armenian generals, including possibly one by the name of Vardanes, reported as "Wardān" in Arabic.[29] One wonders how well those Armenians were suited for fighting under the conditions, climate, and terrain of Palestine, Syria, and Transjordania. There is no reason to doubt the prominence of Arabs in Byzantine ranks. There is no reason to doubt that Greeks fought in the defense of Syria, but they do not receive prominent mention. It is possible that Arabic sources give excessive attention to their fellow ethnics in the Byzantine armies. Yet, it was perfectly rational for Heraklios to place special reliance on his fellow Armenians who had performed so well so recently against the Persians. Moreover, prevailing Byzantine military wisdom counseled that the best way to combat Arabs was to use other Arabs against them.[30] It was, therefore, not surprising that Heraklios resolved to raise Arabs, who, in addition, were located closer to the threatened areas than were other ethnic groups. Although it is true that Byzantine policy towards the Arabs under Emperors Maurice and Heraklios had deemphasized and neglected former Byzantine allies among the Arabs, such as the tribe of Ghassanids, it was still possible for Heraklios to secure the support and services of the Ghassanids, including their last king, Jabalah b. al-Ayham, who apparently led Byzantine Arab tribesmen at the battle of the Yarmūk.[31] However badly Byzantium had mismanaged her relations with Arab tribes, she was still able to raise substantial numbers of Arabs between 634 and 636; old sentimental ties had not yet entirely disappeared.

It is significant that Heraklios directed most Byzantine military operations for the defense of Palestine and Syria from Antioch, to which he moved after evacuating imperilled Emesa (Ḥims).[32] He was the first Byzantine emperor since Julian the Apostate to use Antioch as his main military base. Available historical sources concerning earlier military precedents and experiences at Antioch probably were of little or no relevance for him, especially because in earlier centuries Antioch had served as a strategic base against threats from Persians to the east (or as the logistical springboard for an expedition against the Persians), not against a major threat from far to the south. Yet Antioch was a convenient point for maintaining contact with Constantinople while raising troops from Armenia and for monitoring the progress of such troops from Armenia to Syrian battlefronts. There were, then, many advantages for Heraklios in watching the Byzantine military campaigns against the Arabs from Antioch. Heraklios' very presence at Antioch during that critical time underscored his attention to the defense of Syria and Palestine; he cared very much. It is noteworthy, however, that both the Byzantine emperor and the Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not commanding their respective forces in person during the decisive campaigns; they had delegated military authority to other generals.

The Byzantine catastrophic defeat at the battle of the Yarmūk in August, 636, resulted in a massive flight of the Byzantine survivors, who scattered, according to al-Balādhurī, as far as Mesopotamia and Armenia. Presumably, some of those Byzantine soldiers were simply fleeing in disorderly fashion to their homes, that is, Armenians to their Armenian localities and some of their Christianized Arabs to areas of Byzantine Mesopotamia. There is no reason to reject al-Balādhurī's statement that the flight did extend that far, even though no one who fled could have traveled so far without taking at least some pause. The impression that one gains from the sources is that some Byzantine soldiers and groups, not necessarily as cohesive units, fled pell-mell very far from the site of decisive combat. Being mounted, the Byzantine soldiers could have withdrawn at a rapid pace.[33]

Ṭabarī claims, using a tradition that derives from Ibn Isḥāq, that the Arab commander 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm, pursued the routed Byzantine soldiers from the Yarmūk as far as Melitene.[34] Can this tradition be accepted as reasonable? Or is it a confusion with later conquests, in particular, the conquest of upper Mesopotamia by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm approximately two years later? *A priori*, it is not out of the question that the extremely able general, 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm, may have taken advantage of the defeated, dejected, and dissolving Byzantine survivors of the battle of the Yarmūk. A flying column, not waiting for linkage with other Muslim units, could have pushed as far as Melitene, spearheading a northward offensive. 'Iyāḍ and his column could have bypassed fortified towns in the pursuit of fleeing Byzantine soldiers, many of whom were probably Armenian. Flight from the Yarmūk northward in the direction of Armenia would have passed through Melitene, if one took the most direct route. Only the complete collapse of the Byzantine front, which appears to have actually taken place, immediately following the debacle of the battle of the Yarmūk, could have permitted 'Iyāḍ and his soldiers to make such a rapid and deep penetration. Tabarī states that the inhabitants of Melitene surrendered to 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm's troops, that this news reached Heraklios and so angered him that he ordered other Byzantine troops to retake the town, which they did, and being unable to hold it, they burned it.[35] Such a deep penetration of Byzantine territory immediately following the battle of the Yarmūk helps to explain the inability of the Byzantines to devise any effective secondary defense line in northern Syria after their defeat at the Yarmūk. The swift pursuit by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm probably created widespread panic and made it difficult to reconstitute a coherent defense, because Byzantine soldiers probably feared the presence of those soldiers of 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm in their rear, not knowing what they might do next. The pursuit emphasized the Muslim leaders' concentration on destruction of Byzantine fighting forces before turning to the systematic reduction of towns and their possibly stubborn garrisons. This was an intelligent military decision that contributed to the difficulty of the Byzantines in recovering their equilibrium after the defeat at the Yarmūk. Caetani and De Goeje were aware of Tabarī's information about the pursuit by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm;[36] although not entirely certain of its truth, both scholars declined to reject this detail. It seems certain that 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm did command some important contingents of Arabs who pursued the fleeing Byzantines north from the site of the battle of the Yarmūk. The only question is: How far north did that pursuit lead immediately following the battle, merely to the vicinity of Antioch and Aleppo (Berrhoea) and Chalkis (Qinnasrīn), or around and beyond those towns as far as Melitene? The fact that a flying column penetrated as far north as Melitene does not mean that all territory between Melitene and the conquering Muslim armies in central Syria had already permanently fallen under Muslim control. It means that some highly mobile troops succeeded in taking very full advantage of the victory at the Yarmūk, and thereby intensified the destabilization and crisis of the Byzantine military command. The temporary seizure of Melitene jeopardized the ability of other Byzantine troops to retreat into Byzantine Armenia or to secure reinforcements from that region. It also created a grave threat to remaining Byzantine garrisons still in Syria, along with those in Mesopotamia, and created a potential menace for Byzantine Anatolia. The entire upper Euphrates was laid open to invasion and devastation. Important roads were severed. Melitene had long been a very vital Roman military and logistical base, and it was not strategically unimportant in the late 630s.[37] Heraklios' anger at the loss of Melitene, and his decision to retake and then destroy it, emphasize the importance which he assigned to it. The precise dates of these actions at Melitene are unclear, but one would guess late summer or early autumn of 636, with Byzantine recapture and destruction possibly as late as winter 636-637. Heraklios' decision to recover Melitene underlined his continuing energy as director of the imperial defenses, as well as his possession of sufficient, competent soldiers who were able to effect the retaking of Melitene. The Byzantines still had sufficient strength that they could muster to devise an effective counterattack. The recovery of Melitene by Byzantine troops demonstrated that the Byzantines could still mount a successful counterattack and regroup after losing at the Yarmūk. Yet, the need to make the effort to recover Melitene lost critical time for Heraklios. It split the attention of Heraklios and his generals. One could not devote all of one's attention to trying to reconstitute a defensive line in northern Syria until the Muslims had been dislodged from such vital advanceposts as Melitene.

The struggle for Melitene underscores the importance of other final actions of Heraklios in the defense of Syria, Mesopotamia, and indeed the entire empire after the catastrophe at the Yarmūk. The flight of remnants of the Byzantine armies involved troops of Greek and Armenian ethnic identity, of course, but also a significant number of friendly Arabs who had reason to fear, or at least to dislike, the impending hegemony of invading Arabs under Muslim command. A substantial number of Christianized Arabs from various tribes were defeated and slaughtered near the pass of Darb al-Baghrās while they were striving to flee from northern Syria to reach Heraklios. The precise date, again, is uncertain, but al-Balādhurī, who is the source for this incident, defines the motive of these tribesmen as the desire to join Heraklios, who personified Byzantium to these fleeing Arabs.[38] It should be noted that these Arabs did not rally to the invaders, but preferred to remain affiliated with Byzantine authority. The invading Arabs clearly wished to establish control over all Arabs within former Byzantine territory and made special efforts to try to prevent their flight. In fact, on another occasion, Heraklios complied with the request of the Caliph 'Umar for the return of Arabs who had sought refuge in Byzantine territory. Heraklios did not, and none of his successors ever surrendered all Arabs within Byzantine territory to the Caliphs in

Damascus or elsewhere, because later Arabic sources refer to the presence of descendants of Arab refugees who had fled from Caliphal control at an early date.[39]

It may seem farfetched to make such an argument today, but at the end of the 630s it was not altogether clear to everyone that Byzantine authority would not be restored at some future date, thanks to some opportunity. There is evidence that the new Islamic conquerors did fear the possibility of a Byzantine return. Indeed, there are confused reports about more than one rebellion in central and northern Syria that resulted from the hopes or expectations of at least some inhabitants for a restoration of Byzantine control.[40] Likewise, there are reports of unsuccessful Byzantine efforts to counterattack and retake some critical cities and other points, including Mesopotamia as well as Syria.[41] According to al-Balādhurī, the Islamic conquerors placed an obligation on some villagers in northern Syria to report information about the Byzantines.[42] Clearly, the Islamic conquerors were still nervous about their security, the permanence of their authority, and about the possibility of some kind of Byzantine return. The form of a Byzantine threat that they probably feared most was the one that they knew, that is, Armenians and Christianized Arabs, in particular.

The same logic may help to explain Arab actions against Armenian territory. The Arabs knew that Armenians had fought prominently in Heraklios' armies against them, and not long before, against the Persians. Part of the motivation for the attention that was given to the conquest of Byzantium's Armenian territories probably was the desire to eliminate, neutralize, or at least reduce through harassment that primary source of effective recruits and leadership that had often served Heraklios so well. Byzantine Armenia may have become an object of invasion ca. 641 merely because of the desire for new booty and opportunity for conquest, but the desire to check a potential military threat from it was also probably a very important contributing factor.

Heraklios' experiences in his unsuccessful military campaign of 613, in which he strove to save Antioch and Syria from the invading Persians of Khosro II, has been, until recently, neglected and usually not even classified as his "first Persian expedition," an appellation which is normally reserved for his expedition of

622.[43] There is little doubt that Heraklios learned much from his negative experiences in fighting against the Persians near Antioch in 613. This was the first real test of a Byzantine emperor in the field since the death of Theodosios I. At that time he surely came to appreciate firsthand the defensive and strategic importance of the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician Gates. It seems probable that his military defeats in that abortive campaign of 613 around Antioch did prove of ultimate service to him by helping him to conceive defensive strategy and more effective defensive military operations after the debacle of the Yarmūk. In both 613 and 636 defeats compelled him to evacuate Syria. His experiences in 613 probably acquainted Heraklios with the vital "choke-points" between Syria and the Anatolian plateau, and how to defend them. Arabic sources reveal that the Byzantines cut roads, left regions depopulated, ruined, and abandoned, and the Syriac sources appear to reconfirm this.[44] The passive defense measures created by the Byzantines did contribute to the reestablishment of a viable defensive line, one which gave Byzantium vital breathing space. All of Heraklios' considerable military experience and reading may well have contributed to his selection of emergency measures after Yarmūk, but for that critical and grim situation in late 636, 637, and 638, the best possible preparation was what he had endured and perceived in the comparable, critical and grim military crisis of 613. If any previous military situation was relevant, this was it. There are, of course, no memoirs to confirm or deny this judgment.

Heraklios' final moments near the combat zone after the battle at the Yarmūk may reveal something of his special solicitude for his fellow Armenians. Some Arabic sources state that when Heraklios left Antioch, he went first to Edessa and then to Samosata, and only afterwards to Constantinople, presumably by way of the Cilician Gates. This return to Constantinople by way of Edessa and Samosata is plausible, although not mentioned specifically by the extant sources in Greek. Heraklios' stay in Edessa and Samosata probably helped him to supervise the evacuation of his remaining soldiers from Syria, especially those soldiers who were Armenian and who may have been fleeing to their familiar homelands. This route enabled him to attempt to rally and regroup his shattered forces, and try to devise some advance defense for those Armenian regions of his empire that were now increasingly threatened by Arab invasion. His insistence on recovering and then destroying Melitene also makes sense if Heraklios was passing through or had just passed through Edessa and Samosata. An itinerary through Edessa and Samosata is also consistent with an effort to hold Upper Mesopotamia, which is exactly what did happen in 639, despite its swift Islamic conquest. In campaigning against the Persians, and in returning from Persia to Constantinople, Heraklios had personally become at least somewhat acquainted with the region of Edessa and Samosata and its strategic significance, and he had passed through the area in striving to settle ecclesiastical strife between Armenian Christians and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate.[45]

Arabic sources do not show that Byzantine armies completely dissolved immediately after their loss of Antioch, Berrhoea (Aleppo), and Chalkis (Qinnasrīn). What followed the fall of Syria was a short period of volatility in which Heraklios attempted to restore a coherent and viable defense line, coupled with obscure and unsuccessful efforts, and perhaps with the aid of some dissatisfied inhabitants to retake a few key towns. The responsibility for the efforts to stiffen resistance or to attempt to retake a city is ascribed to Heraklios himself by some of these Arabic sources, although they do not explain their evidence for such assertions. There seems to be no reason to reject these sources' claims that Heraklios, although shaken by recent defeats, did remain in northern Syria at least briefly, trying to devise a defense that would hold, probably also at least partly motivated by a desire to spare Armenia the ravages of invasion, and thereby to protect an important source of potential recruits as well as to spare his fellow countrymen. These ultimately unsuccessful efforts did help to win a little time, it appears. Nevertheless, the Arabic sources provide no secure chronology for his departure from Syria, his itinerary through Edessa and Samosata, and his ultimate journey north of the Taurus Mountains. Yet one needs to give more attention to Heraklios' activities in and around Edessa and Samosata, and not simply assume that he rushed north towards Constantinople when he abandoned Antioch. The Arab invasions of 639, 640, 641 in Mesopotamia and Armenia helped to make it impossible for Heraklios or any of his successors to reproduce the kind of armies that Heraklios and his subordinates had raised and directed against the Islamic invaders of Syria and Palestine.[46]

It was difficult to regroup. But it was prudent after the defeat at the Yarmūk to avoid tying up too many soldiers to guard fortified towns – where they ran the risk of encirclement and piecemeal annihilation or surrender while the countryside suffered ravaging and conquest. Heraklios' destruction of such Byzantine cities as Melitene was probably necessary, as he began to evolve a scorched-earth policy for a no-man's land between Islamic Syria and the Byzantine Anatolian plateau. Those soldiers who did remain to resist resolutely in such towns as Caesarea Maritima of Palestine were simply wasted; those resistance points were eventually captured by the Islamic invaders, if necessary, by storm.[47]

The kinds of incidents that arose in the wake of the campaigns in the defense of Syria revealed the problems that resulted from hastily collecting large numbers of soldiers who expected immediate and regular monetary payments. There is no evidence whatsoever of a massive new creation of an army from comprehensive social and economic reforms. In fact, al-Balādhurī reports one case in northern Syria on the eve of the Arab conquest that shows, at least in one locality, concentration of regional authority and control, and military power in the hands of one family. How long that condition had been in existence is unclear. It may have been a survival of late Roman patronage in Syria, which was often attested in the late fourth century, or it may have been a concession of authority, including military power, because of the military emergency of the impending Arab invasion. It is a case of the interrelationship of possession of military authority for defense purposes and the acquisition of power over local villages. As al-Balādhurī explains, "Balis and Kasirin belonged to two brothers of Greek nobility to whom were given as fiefs the adjacent villages and who were made guardians of the Greek towns of Syria that lay between Balis and Kasirin."[48] The familial aspect of the authority is underscored by the ascription of it to two brothers. This is, however, the only text known to me that provides any evidence concerning possible relationships between control of land and responsibilities for defense. It conflicts with any presumption of general reform of landholding by Heraklios. How typical this case was of the rest of

Syria or other parts of the empire is unclear. A close reading of the Armenian historian Sebeos, whose writings may well date from the seventh century, leaves the impression that traditional families in Armenia still wielded power during the reigns of Heraklios and his immediate successors.[49] If anything, evidence suggests that the basic military institutions of the Byzantine Empire remained Late Roman until at least late in the reign of Heraklios, when, under the pressure of the military emergency of the Islamic invasion of Palestine and Syria, emergency measures, such as the appointment of military commanders over some cities by Heraklios, perhaps the encouragement of local inhabitants to try to do something to defend themselves, and the use of a scorched-earth policy may presage the increasing militarization of Anatolia. It appears to have been the Arab Islamic invasions, not the earlier protracted warfare with the Persians, that provided the impetus for devising change. It is obvious that the accumulations of fighting men gathered by Heraklios were not efficient, that the old way of raising *ad hoc* armies was deficient, creating more problems than it solved.

One can discount and eliminate the Arabic sources' descriptions of alleged debates between Heraklios, Byzantine commanders, and some Arab emissaries or battlefield champions. Yet there was some diplomatic contact between the Islamic invaders and the Byzantines despite hostilities. In addition, the indispensable negotiations for the surrender of many Byzantine towns and cities were occasional exchanges concerning prisoners or demands for the return of certain individuals or groups of refugees. There was no absolutely sealed battlefront: the terms of surrender of most towns included the provision that those who wished to do so could leave, and those who did probably were more often Greek than Semitic. Such persons no doubt often brought confusing reports about what was happening in the areas that the Islamic conquerors were controlling. Divergence of religion did not prevent some persons from crossing the battlelines.[50]

There was no way to predict in the 630s how individual towns would conduct themselves versus the Islamic invaders, although precedents for negotiating peace terms instead of resisting to the end had already been the practice occasionally in the sixth century when facing Persian invasions. Some towns that fell easily to the

Persians resisted the Islamic invaders somewhat longer – one thinks of Caesarea Maritima, Gaza, and even Jerusalem. It is, moreover, erroneous to assume that the Islamic invaders were incapable of laying siege to towns and using siege machinery; the historian Agapius of Menbij reveals that one Byzantine town in Mesopotamia, Mazwan, was reduced through the use of ballistae by the Arabs.[51]

The Christological controversy did not prevent effective Byzantine resistance. Heraklios' Armenian and Christian Arab forces were presumably Monophysites, yet their religious identification did not, as far as is known from extant sources, affect their military performance in any way. Their ultimate loss of cohesion cannot be explained by religious motives. Many Monophysites, in short, fought very hard for Byzantium, and lost their lives in the process. There was probably some passivity in the broader Syrian and Mesopotamian populace, but they had never been trained for warfare anyway. There is no simple explanation for the failure of the Byzantine defense in terms of Christian sectarian strife.[52]

The Byzantine policy of avoiding decisive combat with the Arabs is evident in the initial decades of the Arab invasions of Anatolia. It was Heraklios, according to Greek and Syrian sources, who first urged such a strategy on his commanders in Syria, because he feared Arab ambushes and other traps, and probably because of the lack of adequate Byzantine manpower to risk in pitched battles. The sketchy reports of Heraklios' advice to avoid open fighting with the Arabs deserve a cautious reading. What seems to have been the basic element of his strategy was a desire to avoid losing his valuable manpower in direct engagements, in part because of the apparent inability of his troops and their commanders to devise effective tactics to overcome the invaders in open battle. The outcome of the direct combats demonstrates that Byzantine tactical weakness, even though their numbers were not necessarily inferior to those of the invaders at first. Heraklios' strategy of avoiding open combat whenever possible in Syria will be the one that the Byzantine armies first try to implement in Anatolia after their withdrawal and dispersal of defensive garrisons there.[53] This is one of the legacies of the fighting in Syria to the shape of Byzantine resistance in Anatolia.

The question of the origins of the military institutions of the Middle Byzantine Period have been perplexing and obscure for a long time. One should conceive of the creation of a viable defense for Byzantine Asia Minor, and indeed the explanation for the protracted survival of Byzantium in the face of Islam, not merely in the decisions and measures undertaken by Heraklios after his evacuation of Antioch after the defeat at the Yarmūk. Instead, the real process began in the provisional or emergency measures creating some kind of military authority in Palestine, Damascus, an Emesa (Hims); these were undertaken when Heraklios learned of the imminent threat of an invasion by Arabs from the south. These measures, taken together with those after the evacuation of Antioch in the territory between Antioch and the Taurus range, and the efforts to make counterattacks and to try to hold on to Mesopotamia and Euphratesia, provide some glimpse into a Byzantine process of groping for effective structures and techniques for defending Palestine and Syria. They are part of the integral sequence of historical development of measures and institutions that became fixed and partially succeeded in contributing to the survival of Byzantine Asia Minor in the Middle Byzantine Period. The process of gradual change of the old Late Roman institutions intensified and accelerated in the face of the Islamic invasions. It is part of this process that is mentioned by Arab sources of a later period in their accounts of the early conquests. Byzantinists – without reading these generally untranslated texts – have normally taken the position that the Arabic sources are too confusing to utilize. They do offer some problems, but they do provide some credible details. The tentative conclusion is that although Heraklios' military experiences in 613 and later fighting the Persians contribute to understanding his efforts to devise a successful defense of Syria and the northern Syrian fringes of the Taurus in the 630s, the critical emergency experimentation with extraordinary military authorities took place in anticipation of, and during, the Islamic invasions, not during Byzantium's wars with the Persians. It is possible, although not conclusively documented, that some of the emergency, martial governmental authority forms created over towns in Syria by Heraklios were extended to Anatolia when the remnants of his shattered armies withdrew there.

The Arabic sources do not depict Heraklios as senile or incompetent. They regard him as the ultimate Byzantine strategist for Byzantine defenses. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, an early source, identifies Heraklios as the backbone of Byzantine resistance against the Islamic invaders of his empire.[54] The ultimate evaluation of Heraklios' efforts against the Islamic invaders includes both recognition of the military disasters and an appreciation that his groping for an effective defense of Syria did contribute to the ultimate form of the Byzantine defense of Anatolia. It is a mixed judgment that results from weighing his defeats, evacuation of valuable territories, and yet tempered with an admission that however costly were the lessons learned in the struggle for Syria and Heraklios' efforts to create a viable defense in northern Syria, they are indispensable for a comprehension of the process that resulted in Middle Byzantine military institutions, and the survival, however precarious, of Byzantine Anatolia.

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NOTES

1. Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton 1981), henceforth, *EIC*.

2. Donner, *EIC* 3-9.

3. Donner, *EIC* 8-9.

4. Donner, *EIC* 9.

5. Donner, *EIC* 269.

6. Donner, *EIC* 269.

7. Donner, *EIC* 271.

8. Donner, *EIC* 271.

9. For convenient surveys of recent literature on some aspects of the reign of Heraklios: "John F. Haldon, Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 500-950," *Sitzungsberichte, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, Band 357 (1979) 20-81 and accompanying bibliography; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Munich 1976) 1-56 and bibliography; W.E. Kaegi, Jr., *Byzantine Military Unrest* (Amsterdam and Las Palmas 1981) 124-85; also W.E. Kaegi, Jr., "Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), and my paper "Late Roman Continuity in the Financing of Heraclius' Army" to appear in *Kurzbeiträge* of the 16th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Vienna, Austria.

10. Excessively favorable to Theophanes: E. Vranousi, "Byzantinoarabica," ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ. Ἐθνικὸν Ἵδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν, Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 3 (Athens 1979) 1-28. On the history of the conquests, see text, *Kitāb al futūḥ by Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī*, ed. by M. 'Abdu'l Mu'īd Khān (Hyderabad 1968-1975), vols. 1-8.

11. Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ al-'Uṣfūrī, Abū 'Umar Shabāb, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. by Akram Ḍiya' al-'Umarī (al-Najaf 1967), vols. 1 and 2.

12. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Ta'rīkh futūḥ al-Shām* ed. by 'Abd al-Mu'nim 'Abdullāh Āmir (Cairo 1970), henceforth, *Futūḥ*.

13. M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur le Fotouh's-Scham attribué à Abou Ismail al-Baçri* (Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales, No. 2) (1st ed., Leiden 1864); but see L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan 1907) 2: 1149, 3:205-10.

14. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 175.

15. Ṭabari, *Ta'rīkh* i 2081. Professor Irfan Shahid of Georgetown University has kindly let me see an advance draft of his excursus on the Tanūkh in the seventh century.

16. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 28.

17. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 28-29, 31. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2086, and Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicon* (ed. C.J. Tornberg, Leiden 1868) 2:311, henceforth cited as Ibn al-Athīr.

18. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 31; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2: 311, 317-18).

19. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 84. May be identical with "Arṭabūn" in Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2398-2400, and Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2:387).

20. *Liber Calipharum* (ed. J.P.N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* [Leiden 1862]) 1:17 (original) and 1:116 (trans.); *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronica Minora, CSCO, Scrip. Syri*, ser. 3, T. 4 (Louvain 1903-5), *Versio* 114, who corrects Land. Also, see important note by T. Nöldeke, *Die ghassanischen Fürsten...* (Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Berlin 1887) 45 n. 3; Caetani, *Annali* 2:1144-45. I am grateful for the advice of Professors Nina Garsoian and Arthur Vööbus, who discussed aspects of this identification with me.

21. Walter E. Kaegi, Jr., "Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), and Kaegi, "Late Roman Continuity in the Financing of Heraclius' Army." See especially *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί* 42 (ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitarum*, Leipzig 1901) 1:49, and 2:180. Also: W.E. Kaegi, Jr., "Notes on Hagiographic Sources for Some Institutional Changes and Continuities in the Early Seventh Century," *Byzantina* 7 (1975) 59-70.

22. Nikephoros, *Hist.* (C. de Boor, Leipzig 1880) 23; Theoph. *Chron.* A.M. 6123 (de Boor 335-36).

23. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2081, 2347, 2394; al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-Buldān* (henceforth, al-Balādhurī), ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1866, r.p. Amsterdam, 1968) 135, 164; al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 28, 111, 152.

24. Eutychius, *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, *CSCO, Scriptores Arabici*, Ser. 3, T. 7 (Louvain 1909) 13-14.

25. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 151-52, 175-77; Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest* 125-53.

26. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* 11.7, 10 (ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1904) 2:424, 2:443-44. John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 119.12 (trans. R.H. Charles, Oxford 1916, 190).

27. Theoph. *Chron.* A.M. 6125-6126 (de Boor 337-38). On the office: N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX*^{e}*-XI*^{e} *siècles* (Paris 1972) 312.

28. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2081, i 2347, i 2394; al-Balādhurī, 135, 164, 181-

83; Theoph. *Chron.* A.M. 6125-6126 (de Boor 337-38); al-Azdī al-Basrī *Futūḥ* 28, 111, 125, 152, 174-77; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2:308, 381).

29. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 84.

30. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Hist. eccl.* 5. 20 (ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898, r.p. Amsterdam 1964, 216).

31. al-Balādhurī 135-36.

32. al-Balādhurī 115, 123; al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 29.

33. al-Balādhurī 135. It is not at all improbable that the badly defeated Byzantine survivors fled very far in scattered directions.

34. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2349.

35. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2349.

36. M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (2nd ed. Leiden 1900) 134-35; Caetani, *Annali* 3:812, but cf. Caetani 4:45, 3:788-89.

37. See K. Miller, *Die peutingersche Tafel oder Weltkarte des Castorius* (Stuttgart 1916), plate 10; N. Adonts, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, trans. by N. Garsoian (Lisbon 1970) 113, 118.

38. al-Balādhurī 163-64, and also, for a later case of the B. Taghlib, pp. 181-83; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2:386), for Menbij region.

39. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2508-2509. For important later reference, al-Istakhrī, *Viae regnorum* (ed. M.J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Leiden r.p. 1967) 1:45.

40. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2498-2511.

41. On all of this, see cautionary remarks of J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin 1899) 6:85-89.

42. al-Balādhurī 150; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2:386).

43. A. Stratos, "La première campagne de l'Empereur Héraclius contre les Perses," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979) 63-74; Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest* 126, 147-48.

44. al-Balādhurī 163-64; Tabarī i 2396; al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 237; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* 11.7 (trans. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1901) 2:422-23; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2:384).

45. al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Futūḥ* 237; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* i 2391, 2395-2396. Background: H. A. Manandian, "Marshrut'i persidskich pochodov imperatora Irakliy," *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 3 (1950) 144-46, 153; A. Stratos, Τὸ Βυζάν-

τιων στὸν ζ 'αἰώνα (Athens 1966) 2:647-52.

46. M. Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft* (Marburg 1903); H. Manandean, "Les invasions arabes en Arménie," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 163-92; A.N. Ter-Gevondian, *Armeniya i arabskii Khalafat* (Erevan 1977) 23-45. I am investigating some of these points in more detail in my monograph, now under preparation, on *Byzantium and the Islamic Conquests.* I have read papers on "Heraclius and Byzantine Mesopotamia" and "Armenia, Armenians, and the Arab Conquest" respectively at Harvard University (Robert Lee Wolff Memorial Lectures, November 1981) and at The University of Chicago (Lectures in Armenian Cultural History, 16 April 1982).

47. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh* i 2396-98; al-Balādhurī 140-43; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg 2:387-88).

48. al-Balādhurī (de Goeje 150); the translation is from P.K. Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State* (New York 1916) 1:231.

49. Sebeos, *Histoire d'Héraclius* (trans. F. Macler, Paris 1904) 100-07, 134-35, leaves the impression that the traditional Armenian families dominated indigenous armies and recruiting in Armenia, that there was no new radical institutional transformation of the army; one gains a similar impression from Adonts, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, but that is not his main concern.

50. See information in D.R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests, A.D. 634-656* (London 1971).

51. Agapius of Menbij, *PO* 8:477, cf. similar passage in Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* (Chabot 2:426).

52. I look forward to the forthcoming publication of a book by Arthur Vööbus, who will present the evidence for Syrian Christian favorable reactions and assistance to the Islamic conquerors. Nevertheless, many Christian Arabs, who were Monophysite, resisted or fled from the Islamic invaders.

53. Nikephoros, *Hist.* (de Boor 23); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* 11.7 (2:424-25 Chabot) and Agapius, *PO* 8:471. For some reflections on how the initial passive defense in depth of Anatolia was fashioned in the seventh century, see: J. Haldon, H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization and Society in the Borderlands," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 79-116, and the scholarly literature cited therein. Also: Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest* 174-82.

54. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* (ed. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922) 76.

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ROBERT M. HADDAD

ICONOCLASTS AND *MU'TAZILA*: THE POLITICS OF ANTHROPOMORPHISM

The paucity of evidence concerning the wellsprings of Byzantine and Islamic iconoclasm has served at once to foster speculation on the subject and to deny any speculation the ultimate solace of verification. The scholarly consensus tends to assume a relationship between Christian and Muslim iconoclasm, though that relationship is variously defined, and implicitly at least seems to regard the image as an important, perhaps the most important, shared religious concern of Byzantium and Islam in the eighth and ninth centuries.[1] This evaluation, however, contains an inherent imbalance and should inspire a measure of disquiet. For while hostility toward representational religious art did indeed pervade the Near East in the eighth and ninth centuries, one can hardly argue that that hostility raged with equal force in Byzantium and Islam. Many Muslims, particularly Muslim rulers from the Umayyads on, patronized representational art for secular purposes, though not on the scale of their Byzantine counterparts, but the strictures, however derived, against employment of such art for sacred purposes were never seriously questioned or compromised. To insist, on the other hand, that Byzantine iconoclasm stood wholly independent of Islam inspires a different kind of unease. Could a phenomenon of such moment, politically as well as religiously, have neither touched nor been touched by Islam? Or did the anguish of Byzantium have a contemporary parallel in an intimately-related culture, still very much in the process of defining its characteristic political and religious institutions, still awash in an Eastern Christian sea?

This paper, whose single claim to originality lies in its peculiar juxtaposition of more or less familiar material, will argue that the most revealing parallel in the religious life and thought of these contiguous cultures in the eighth and ninth centuries is to be found not in iconoclasm per se but in hostility toward anthropomorphism – that is, hostility toward depiction of divinity in human terms. From this perspective the apt analogy involves the Christian iconoclast's rejection of the anthropomorphism implicit in the painted image of the Word made flesh, and the Muslim Mu'tazilī's denial of the verbal anthropomorphism apparently nestled in the Qur'ān, in the Word made book. A complementary political parallelism presents itself in the endorsement of anti-anthropomorphism by the temporal authorities in Byzantium and Islam, in an effort to bind religious ideology to political power. For like the iconoclastic period (726-843), the 'Abbāsid era from 750-848 featured an attempt on the part of the secular power to establish itself as arbiter of religious doctrine. The relatively brief period (827-848) during which Mu'tazilī doctrine enjoyed official favor should not be seen as a radical departure from the 'Abbāsid norm but as culmination of a campaign initiated at the inception of 'Abbāsid rule in 750 and extending concurrently with the dispute over the icons. Let us remind ourselves that only five years separate the triumph of Orthodoxy in Greek Christianity from the triumph of Orthodoxy in Islam. Hostility toward anthropomorphism in Byzantium and Islam and the political uses of that hostility are the themes now to be explored.

Fundamentally, the doctrinal arguments of the iconoclasts were two. The first characterized the reign of Leo III (717-741) and the early part of the reign of Constantine V (741-775) and was grounded in scriptural injunctions against idolatry.[2] This concerns us little for, as we have noted, the figural image never really threatened Islam's devotional life much less its doctrine. It is the second doctrinal argument advanced by the iconoclasts that commands our attention. With the publication of the *Pefsis* of Constantine V, sometime before 754, a different attack is launched against the iconodules, essentially christological but presaging nonetheless what would emerge as a salient Mu'tazilī polemic against the upholders of Qur'ānic anthropomorphism. The *Pefsis* argued that an image is a "... proper image only if it is of the same essence, *homo-ousios*, with the prototype."[3]

> When the image of Christ is made, either the divine nature would be circumscribed in the icon, or else Christ must be regarded as only human, and only his fleshly appearance is depicted. Both alternatives are inadmissible....[4]

With the advent of Constantine's *Pefsis* iconoclasm affirms for the first time a specifically Christian apologetic, one resting finally upon the impossibility of circumscribing divinity. The same argument underpins the *Horos* of the iconoclast Synod of Hiereia in 754. There the iconodules are condemned as neo-Nestorians for dividing the one Son into a duality. The painter of an icon of Christ presumes to circumscribe "the uncircumscribability of the divinity by means of the circumspection of created flesh, or else he confuses the unconfused union...."[5] There exists perhaps no more direct statement of the iconoclast's abhorrence of anthropomorphism when extended beyond verbal depiction of the incarnate Word.

When the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn sought, a century after Leo III inaugurated the age of iconoclasm, to define Islamic orthodoxy, he chose as the bedrock of the Mu'tazilī teaching he hoped to fasten upon the community the doctrine of the created Qur'ān. But under this rubric was subsumed denial of anthropomorphism and it was this denial that engaged the popular passions. Let us attempt briefly to clarify the connection between the created Word and anti-anthropomorphism.

Islam's application of the logos doctrine to the Qur'ān, the impersonal Word in which Revelation comes to its fulness, came to pose a theological problem similar to that inspired by the Christian concept of Christ, the personal Word in whom Revelation comes to its fulness. Islam's transference of the logos doctrine from person to book did not spare the followers of the Arabian prophet the pain, so long endured by Christianity, of determining whether the Word was created or uncreated, created by God or coeternal with God. Now just as it had disturbed Arians to posit a Son coeternal with the Father, a postulate they feared would compromise the absolute unity of God, so the Mu'tazila shared similar fears with regard to an uncreated eternal Qur'ān. If there is a sense in which traditionist as well as Mu'tazilī Islam resembled Arianism in christology, only the Mu'tazila stood firmly with the Arians in their understanding of the logos doctrine. Like them they held that those affirming an uncreated Word affirmed two eternal principles or beings and stood guilty of nothing less than a denial of monotheism.

The question of the Word as created or uncreated erupted in the late eighth and early ninth century probably as a consequence of the Mu'tazilī devotion to the doctrine of free will. Their antagonists—the traditionists whose victory would make "Sunnī" (traditionist) the synonym for orthodox—insisted that the events mentioned in the Qur'ān must have been eternally known to God, hence predetermined, hence recorded in an eternal uncreated Revelation. It was the Mu'tazila's rejection of the determinism of the traditionists that led them into denying the notion of an uncreated Qur'ān.[6] Styling themselves "The People of Unity and Justice," the Mu'tazila sought to protect the divine justice by affirming the free will of man – their just God could not preordain His creature to sin and then proceed to damn him for it – and the divine unity by positing only one eternal principle or being. And if, in the Mu'tazilī view, there exists a necessary connection between the doctrine of free will and that of a created Qur'ān, there exists as well a logical connection between the created Word and denial of the anthropomorphism which the traditionists saw in the Word. The Mu'tazila's concern with safeguarding the absolute unity of God led them to deny not only the coeternity of the Word but also God's essential (and anthropomorphic) attributes.[7] These included knowledge and power or determination, both of which figured prominently in the determinism upheld by the traditionists, and speech, for the same traditionists threatened to transform the created Word into an eternal icon of God's speech. Indeed, the less restrained among them might even have asserted that every copy of the Qur'ān (although made of ink and paper as surely as icons of Christ take form from paint and wood) imaged the eternal image and so shared in its divinity and eternity.[8] And could not the Mu'tazila have responded, as if in easy paraphrase of the *Pefsis* of Constantine V or the *Horos* of Hiereia, that an image is truly an image only if it be of one essence with its prototype, and to affirm this of the Qur'ān bifurcates the divine oneness and constitutes cold blasphemy? Having denied the essential attributes, the Mu'tazila took the short, necessary step to repudiation of the traditionists' more or less literal reading of all the anthropomorphic terminology in which the Qur'ān envelops Divinity. Like the iconoclasts, the Mu'tazila categorically disavowed any resemblance between man and the uncircumscribable God.

The temporal authority seeking to control the religious institution must somehow make it evident to the religious leaders and to the generality of believers alike that control over religious function and/or definition is ultimately the prerogative of the temporal authority. Latin Christian emperors later on would attempt to make their point through control over religious function, i.e. investiture. In the East, where 'investiture' of bishop by Basileus, and *qāḍī* by Caliph, had long been assumed, a more thorough dominance was sought through the temporal authority's control over doctrinal definition. But the temporal authority must choose with care the particular doctrinal definition on the basis of which its religious authority is to be established. Simply to declare in favor of a doctrine that already commands the consensus would be quite as ineffective as advancing a doctrine lacking any basis in the tradition of the faithful. What is required is an antithesis to a thesis upheld by the consensus, but an antithesis rooted in tradition, possessed of intellectual import sufficient to hold a significant segment of the religious learned and be acknowledged by their adversaries as serious and threatening. The antithesis must also lend itself, on some level, to popular comprehension and preferably to jingoist slogan; for finally the temporal authority must somehow create and lead a popular religious movement.

It is probable that the Caliph al-Ma'mūn used the doctrine of the created Word as the basis of asserting his religious authority because, of all Mu'tazilī teaching, that alone had won a substantial part of the Muslim consensus, at least before the doctrine had become entwined with the doctrine of free will and was thereby intruded into the struggle between traditionists and Mu'tazila. As in the case of the iconoclast apologists, the appeal to tradition had to be made,[9] and the doctrine of the created Word probably constituted the only basis for such an appeal by the Mu'tazila and their caliphial patron. This doctrine, like Christian iconoclasm, appears always to have enjoyed a certain currency. It seemed reasonable to assert that, because the Qur'ān made its appearance in time, it must have been created.[10] The Caliph, in assuming the role of arbiter of doctrine, chose as the touchstone of the new orthodoxy the Mu'tazilī teaching that commanded widest though, by the early ninth century, still limited adherence.

We have remarked that the Mu'tazila, in affirming the created

Word and the divine unity, had denied the divine attributes as well as anthropomorphism of a more physical sort. On the other hand, it is certain that by the reign of al-Ma'mūn the scholarly and wider Muslim consensus had come to affirm the divine attributes and anthropomorphism as complementary to the doctrine of the *un*created Word and the *true* doctrine of the divine unity.[11] The Mu'tazilī disadvantage, of course, lay in the fact that the Qur'ān, whether created or uncreated, is scarcely free of anthropomorphic depiction of divinity. Denying that God has knowledge, power, speech, a hand, an eye, a face flew in the face of Qur'ānic texts that state plainly enough that He does. Many traditionists insisted that such texts were to be taken literally, although their champion during the political prime of the Mu'tazila (827-848), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855), was satisfied to accept these anthropomorphisms *bilā kayfa* – that is, without stating in what sense.[12] The Mu'tazilī defense, like that of Constantinian iconoclasm, was grounded in the insistence that divinity cannot be circumscribed. The Sunnī theologian and former Mu'tazilī, al-Ash'arī (d. 935) no doubt recorded faithfully essential elements of his erstwhile colleagues' creed when he wrote:

> The Mu'tazila agree that God is one; there is no thing like him,...he is not a body...not flesh and blood, not an individual, not substance or attribute...no place comprehends him...he is not characterized by any attribute of creatures...he...does not resemble creatures in any respect...he is unlike what occurs to the mind or is pictured in the imagination...there is no eternal except him....[13]

The God of the Mu'tazila is uncircumscribable, not depictable in human terms; Qur'ānic anthropomorphism therefore can only be interpreted metaphorically.

The Mu'tazilī affirmation of the divine unity as abstract essence had something of the same superficial rational appeal as the iconoclast argument about "the uncircumscribability of the divinity by means of created flesh," an argument we have already encountered in the *Horos* of the Synod of 754. There was, however, little that the ordinary Muslim believer could do with divinity so unknowable, so ineffable, so utterly other.[14] The anthropomorphic dimension is not easily replaced by abstract essence. The God of Abraham, as the object of worship, demands some degree of anthropomorphic conceptualization. The Muslim God had resisted incarnation; He could not be made to resist His worshippers' experience of Him. Qur’ānic anthropomorphism, like the icon, translated for the believer “the awesomely distant loving-kindness of God into the reassuring precision of a human face.”[15] It is to be emphasized again that the Mu‘tazila aroused the popular ire, less because of their created Qur’ān than because of their hostility to anthropomorphism. The sometime polemicist of the Mu‘tazila, the scathing essayist al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), appears to have directed more of his fire against anthropomorphism than against the traditionists’ doctrine of the uncreated Qur’ān. For al-Jāḥiẓ, anthropomorphism, despite “its adherents of great numbers and manifest power,” constituted “the great sin, the monstrous falsehood.”[16]

The iconoclast and Mu‘tazilī movements were officially launched by the temporal authorities in times of crisis. Peter Brown may be correct in viewing the icons as symbols of local civic loyalties rendered anachronistic by the Arab conquests. But he is surely on the mark in stating that, in wake of the Muslim advance,

> the Byzantine Empire could no longer afford the luxury of remaining a ‘commonwealth of cities’.... The emperor had to be omnicompetent, and be seen to be omnicompetent.... A new patriotism had to be created.[17]

So, at least, might have reasoned Leo III and his son. Nor should we overlook the stresses besetting the Caliphate. The Muslims’ military momentum against Byzantium slowed after their abortive siege of Constantinople in 717. Leo III’s victory over them at Akroinon in 740 seemed to herald the turbulence leading to the ‘Abbāsid revolution. Islamic society, during the rest of the eighth and in the early ninth century, continued to suffer as a consequence of the partial Byzantine recovery. The sheer diversity of the Empire must also be counted a political weakness. From the Umayyads, the ‘Abbāsids had inherited an essentially decentralized Caliphate unable to soften appreciably the immemorial localism characteristic of its multifarious population. By the early ninth century, too, the still fledgling faith of the Prophet faced the necessity to define itself more completely and, in the midst of a rapid urban development, to construct social and political institutions consistent with its formal self-definition. That the time had come for Muslim ideology to assume more or less definitive shape is reflected in the struggle among traditionists, Mu‘tazila, Shī‘a and lesser religio-political sectarians. The endemic crises of the eighth century, in Islam as well as Byzantium, could only have reinforced the rulers' will toward centralization of all authority under their aegis. It is not to deny the intellectual or religious predeliction of Leo III and al-Ma'mūn toward iconoclast and Mu'tazilī doctrine respectively to suggest that their motives transcended personal conviction and represented the desire of both rulers to control religious ideology in an effort to strengthen themselves and their states politically.[18] It seems hardly misguided to assign to the iconoclast and Mu'tazilī episodes the significance that scholars have customarily conferred upon the Investiture Controversy. That this most central of confrontations between Church and State in Latin Christendom was only in a secondary sense doctrinal – for no Latin Christian ruler ever attempted to establish himself as arbiter of doctrine – simply testifies to the relative strength of the Latin Church vis-à-vis the fragmented political power of the West. In being forced to war against the temporal authority over the right to define doctrine, the Greek Church and the Sunnī Muslim religious institution at once revealed their relative weakness with regard to the temporal power and risked losing the prerogative without which all others would have been empty.

It has been pointed out that the *Ecloga*, promulgated on the eve of the iconoclast controversy, differs substantially from all previous pronouncements on Byzantine Church-State relations and displays Leo III clad in vibrant caesaropapist garb. The prologue to the *Ecloga*, in Stephen Gero's words, "simply does not envisage two powers on earth,"[19] and at least implicitly denies the intermediary authority of the Church to interpret for the emperor the divine directives.[20] God delivered to Leo the sovereignty and "He bade us, as He bade Peter the supreme head of the Apostles, to feed His most faithful flock...."[21] "I am emperor and priest," thundered Leo III to Pope Gregory II on another occasion,[22] and his caesaropapist bent becomes more pronounced in his son and heir Constantine V. In Constantine's day an iconodule leader earned condemnation by the iconoclast bishop Kosmas less for his disobedience to the Church than for "resistance to the divinely bestowed imperial power."[23] A virtual equivalence between obedience to the emperor's will and obedience to God rings out in the *Horos* of the iconoclast Synod of Hiereia; the faithful emperors are hailed as equal to the apostles and sent by Christ for the instruction of man.[24] "I too am a son of the Church," declared another iconoclast emperor, Leo V, to his bishops in 814, "and as a mediator I shall listen to both parties and after a comparison of the two I shall determine the truth."[25]

The sources providing comparable witness to the Mu'tazilī Caliphs' usurpation of the right to define doctrine are less extensive – the period of Mu'tazilī political power was after all much briefer than the era of iconoclast domination – but these sources are no less clear. Again, al-Ma'mūn's attempt to fuse religious ideology to political power must be seen as climax of a process initiated even before the birth of the 'Abbāsid imperium. The very claim of the 'Abbāsids to the Caliphate, based as it was on their descent from an uncle of the Prophet, had always an aura of divine right.[26] All previous Caliphs had deigned to govern in their own names, but Abū Ja'far, the second 'Abbāsid Caliph, styled himself *al-Manṣūr billāh* (the victorious through God).[27] The 'Abbāsid Caliphs before al-Ma'mūn had already established a firm link between their own political authority and the office of *qāḍī*[28] – the judge in a court of Islamic law – the *qāḍīs* appointed by the Caliphs with the perfect aplomb of a Byzantine emperor designating bishops. The 'Abbāsids, acutely aware of how the Umayyads' failure to control religious ideology had helped decree their demise sought from the outset to secure themselves against their predecessors' failure and fate.

The 'Abbāsids, let us recall, had ridden to power partly on a mounting wave of Shī'ī discontent with Umayyad rule. While this discontent had been roundly exploited by the aspiring 'Abbāsids, full acknowledgment of the validity of Shī'ī claims would have dictated nothing less than 'Abbāsid renunciation of the caliphate in favor of a Shī'ī *imām* drawn from the House of 'Alī. It was a step understandably resisted by every 'Abbāsid – that is, by every 'Abbāsid save one. Dominique Sourdel has argued persuasively that al-Ma'mūn's alliance with the Mu'tazila was prompted in part by the close relationship that had developed between them and the Zaydī Shī'a.[29] In 816 al-Ma'mūn even took the radical step of naming a Shī'ī claimant, 'Alī al-Riḍā, as his heir to the Caliphate.[30] Happily for the 'Abbāsid dynasty, 'Alī al-Riḍā predeceased al-Ma'mūn two years later and the Shī'ī day would be deferred for another century. Al-Ma'mūn's refusal to nominate another Shī'ī claimant may have reflected the Caliph's decision to claim for himself the religio-political powers which the Shī'a vested in their *imāms.*[31] Al-Ma'mūn would thus have made explicit the long implicit claim of his 'Abbāsid forebears to full control over the religious institution.

At all events, if there exists an 'Abbāsid parallel to Leo III's *Ecloga*, in its bald insistence that the ultimate human arbiter of the faith is the temporal ruler, it is surely the letters by which al-Ma'mūn declared and monitored the *Miḥna*, the "test" applied to the religious leaders and to certain secular notables, particularly in Baghdad, that the depths of their fidelity to Mu'tazilī doctrine be measured. Now, like the Eastern Roman emperors from the time of the first Constantine, the Caliphs had always as their mission the maintenance of the integrity of doctrine. Like the iconoclast emperors, however, al-Ma'mūn did not rest there. If, in his letters inaugurating the *Miḥna*, the Caliph hesitates to portray himself quite in the manner of a Shī'ī *imām*, sinless and infallible, he does see himself, as Caliph, not only as temporal successor to Muḥammad but as special heir to the spiritual legacy of the Prophet and the "knowledge" associated with the prophetic vocation.

> God has made incumbent upon the imāms of the Muslims, [who are] their Caliphs, striving to maintain the religion of God, which He has entrusted to them; the legacy of prophethood, to which He has made them heir; and the tradition of knowledge, which He has consigned to them.[32]

And in a letter intended primarily for the ears and eyes of the *qāḍīs* and traditionists of Baghdad, al-Ma'mūn elaborated further upon the unique role of the Caliph, attributing to him a divinely-bestowed "superiority of knowledge" and "perception" in matters of the faith, and the ultimate responsibility to make known to believers the true religion.

> Among the duties imposed by God upon His Caliphs..., whom He has been pleased to appoint for the maintenance of His religion and charge with the care of His creatures, the execution of His government and His laws and the perfection of His justice in His world, are: that they exert themselves [zealously] in God's behalf and act sincerely toward Him with regard to those matters which He has entrusted to them...; that they guide [men] to Him... through the superiority of knowledge with which He has endowed them and the perception which He has placed within them; that they guide to Him the one who has strayed...; that they bring back him who has turned from His

> command; that they make clear to their subjects the way of their salvation and apprise them of the perimeters of their faith and the path of their deliverance and preservation; and that, by means which remove doubt from them and restore light and clear proof to all of them, they disclose concerns hidden from, and unintelligible to, them....The success of the Commander of the Faithful rests only upon God.[33]

Only after this preamble did the Caliph summarize, from the Mu'tazilī perspective, the disputed points of doctrine. Twenty-five *qāḍīs* were summoned to hear the absent Caliph's governor in Baghdad, Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, read to them their sovereign's missive, preparatory to testing them to see "if they profess the teaching of the Commander of the Faithful."[34] Among those assembled stood the immovable Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

Al-Ma'mūn's contempt for the traditionist religious leaders, those prey to seduction by the ignorant masses they purport to lead and instruct, is remarkably reminiscent of the fifth Constantine's detestation, on similar grounds, of the monks and the iconodule masses they claimed to lead.[35] After the Synod of Hiereia, Constantine obliged his soldiers to swear that they would not worship images and would avoid all contact with monks.[36] The Emperor, it has been remarked,

> deconsecrated the potential holy man quite as thoroughly as he deconsecrated the icons. His measures were designed to cut the links between the monastic spiritual adviser and the laity.[37]

It would appear that al-Ma'mūn and his two Mu'tazilī successors sought a similar severence between the traditionist leaders and the mass of Muslim faithful. Of the former al-Ma'mūn wrote:

> They are the ones who dispute falsely and call [others] to their teaching. They link themselves to the Sunna while in every chapter of the Book of God are accounts to be read that give the lie to their teaching..., despite which they proclaim that they are people of the truth and the religion....Thereby they deceive the ignorant.[38]

Al-Ma'mūn adjudged Bishr ibn al-Walīd "deluded";[39] Al-Dhayyāl ibn al-Haythạm a robber of corn;[40] Aḥmad ibn Yazīd "a child in his intellect, though not in his years – an ignoramus."[41] Al-Faḍl ibn Ghānim's greed could lead him "to barter his faith... [for money]."[42] As for Abū Nasr al-Tammār, "the Commander of the Faithful likens the meanness of his intellect to the meanness of his trade"[43] ("al-Tammār" signifies "date-merchant"). Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan "is yet a child and needs to be taught."[44] Still others "have joined idolatry to their practice of usury, and have become like the Christians."[45] From the words of Aḥmad ibn Hanbal (one of the few whose deconsecration proved impossible), the Caliph inferred merely the great traditionist's "ignorance and the baseness of his intellect."[46] And al-Ma'mūn dispatched with equal scorn the vast crowd of believers.

> The Commander of the Faithful knows that the great multitude, the vast majority of the vulgar herd, the riffraff of common folk, who are without insight, reflection and reasoning pointing to God and His guidance and [without] illumination through knowledge and its proof, are, in all lands and regions, a people ignorant of God, blind to Him, lost to the reality of His religion.... and, because of the weakness of their judgment, the deficiency of their intelligence and their antipathy toward thought and reflection, are [unable] to distinguish between Him and His creation....[47]

Sourdel has observed that the fury of al-Ma'mūn's attack upon the traditionist leaders and the believers who clung to them was exceeded only by al-Jāhiz in his epistle, written during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (833-842), refuting the anthropomorphism dear to these leaders and to the great majority of the faithful.[48] Al-Jāḥiẓ attributed the abiding strength of anthropomorphism "to the adherence of the masses and to the proclivity of the mean and base."[49] Although this Mu'tazilī wrote during the era of the *Miḥna*, he could nonetheless lament that "the elite have no authority over the masses nor the prominent over the lowly."[50] To be sure, the "partisans [of anthropomorphism] are suppressed and put to the *Miḥna*... [but] the conscience of most of them remains where it was... and we have profited nothing from the hypocrite...."[51] The concept of authority enunciated by iconoclast emperor, Mu'tazilī caliph and by their respective apologists sounded the antithesis of the established Orthodox Christian and emergent Sunnī Muslim notion that the final arbiter of doctrine and practice could only be the consensus of believers, a consensus pronounced by those whom the believers acknowledge as their leaders. Neither iconoclast emperor nor Mu'tazilī caliph would succeed in creating and leading a popular religious movement, the only development that would have lent substance to their claims to define the faith as well as govern the faithful.

Of the *Miḥna*, that mini-inquisition launched by al-Ma'mūn shortly before his death in 833 and upheld by his successors until 848, let us note that most of the religious and lay notables subjected to the "test" signalled quickly their credence in a Qur'ān created and impervious to anthropomorphic interpretation. When the *Miḥna* was applied to 'Alī ibn Abī Muqātil, he soon capitulated with these words: "...should the Commander of the Faithful command us, we will hear and obey him."[52] Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī was even less equivocal:

> But the Commander of the Faithful is our imām, and through him we have heard the whole sum of learning. He has heard what we have not heard, and knows what we do not know. God has also laid upon him the rule over us.... Therefore, if he command us we will obey, and if he forbid us we will desist, and if he call to us we will answer.[53]

Al-Jāḥiẓ, we have observed, deemed such witness largely false. Likely it provided as accurate an index to genuine conviction as the unanimous subscription of three hundred and thirty-eight hierarchs to the decrees of the iconoclast Synod of 754. *Qāḍīs* and episcopate were equally officialized and thus vulnerable to imperial dictation. Al-Ma'mūn lauded one of his chief inquisitors, Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, for persuading those he had tested to affirm the createdness of the Word and "to concur in denial of anthropomorphism," but Ishāq also received the Caliph's praise for successfully "pointing out to them their real interest...."[54]

It is not to deny a Mu'tazilī strain among the *qādīs* or an iconoclast tendency within the Byzantine episcopate and even among the monks to insist that popular piety was more truly represented by traditionist leaders such as ibn Ḥanbal and by iconodules such as Patriarch Nikephoros and the monk, Theodore of Studios. It is they who at once reflected and led popular piety and helped guarantee that the intermediary authority of the religious institution would indeed interpret for emperor and caliph the divine directives. Just as presiding over an uncreated eternal Word in which divinity had not been reduced to abstraction could only have enhanced the intermediary authority of the *'ulamā,*[55] so the intermediary authority of the Byzantine clergy, notably the monastic element, could only have been strengthened by their guardianship over those holy images which, since the sixth century, had come to supplant the imperial images[56] and give concrete assurance of divine immanence. Never, after the defeat of the iconoclasts and Mu'tazila, would a Greek Christian emperor or a Sunnī caliph arrogate the right to define doctrine. And the premium placed thenceforward on doctrinal stability by Sunnī Islam and Orthodox Christianity – both victorious, both badly shaken – does much (but not everything) to explain the drift of philosophical inquiry to the margin of *orthodox* religious concern after the ninth century and the rapid development of the mystical theology and practice which, by the eleventh century, had come to characterize both kindred religious cultures. The Greek Church would admit as much of Aristotle as John of Damascus (d. 750?) afforded and would complement the Damascene, not with some Eastern Aquinas but with Simeon the New Theologian (d. 1022) and Gregory Palamas (d. 1359). And not even Averroēs (d. 1198) could stay Sunnī Islam's surrender to al-Ghazālī (d. 1111).

It would of course be gratifying were one able, in conclusion, to demonstrate a clear causal relationship between iconoclasm and the Mu'tazilī movement. Alas, the relative dearth of pertinent sources makes doubtful, though it does not preclude, any such demonstration. Certainly Byzantium and the House of Islam were not closed utterly to one another. The Monophysite element that some see informing iconoclasm[57] may have played a part in fostering Mu'tazilī aversion to anthropomorphism. Monophysite Christians, after all, comprised a salient element in Byzantium but were far more numerous in the still predominantly Christian environment in which the Mu'tazila and their traditionist opponents waged their decisive struggle. It must be conceded at once, however, that despite Monophysite christology's iconoclastic thrust there exists no compelling evidence that Monophysite churches of the eighth and ninth centuries stood innocent of iconography.[58] Still, the virulent anti-Nestorianism implicit in the *Pefsis* of Constantine V and quite explicit in the *Horos* would seem to suggest some degree of Monophysite inspiration. Nor can one disregard the possibility that Monophysite and, for that matter, Nestorian hesitation in face of a thorough-going Chalcedonian anthropomorphism left an impress on Mu'tazilī thinkers. For the era of al-Ma'mūn inaugurated not only the *Mihna* but the great age of translation as well, an effort encouraged by the Mu'tazila but, of necessity, carried out by Syrian and 'Irāquī Christians. These Christian translators of

Greek philosophic and scientific texts were also, initially, the only qualified commentators on those texts. That most of these Christians adhered to Nestorianism is true enough but it is to be remarked that Nestorian christology, in deemphasizing the divinity of Jesus, tends toward the same anti-anthropomorphism at which the Monophysites arrive by deemphasizing the humanity of Jesus. At the doctrinal heart of the christological controversies, as of iconoclasm and the Mu'tazilī movement, lay the insistent crucial issue of anthropomorphism: to what extent is it possible to speak of or graphically to depict divinity in human terms? In this context, let us also heed Watt's reminder that "the leading Mu'tazilites of the period of al-Ma'mūn were mainly *mawālī*...,"[59] Muslims not too distantly removed from their Christian – in fact largely Monophysite and Nestorian – origins.

One is aware that Christian translators-commentators, resident in Muslim-governed territories, passed freely and frequently not only between Baghdad and Jundishapur's Nestorian academy but between Baghdad and the city by the Bosporus. Everywhere, we must assume, they observed, listened and talked. Nor were Byzantine missions to Baghdad infrequent. And we may perhaps allow ourselves to wonder whether an imperial ambassador such as John the Synkellos, who returned home "greatly impressed by the splendor of the Arab capital,"[60] confined his cultural activities, there in the city by the Tigris, to the contemplation of Muslim architecture.

At all events, the coincidence of two historically decisive controversies, similar in theme and consequence and transpiring in contiguous and cousinly cultures, might not have been entirely accidental. Given the fact that the Byzantine struggle antedated somewhat the Islamic, is the task now to search out possible Christian sources of Mu'tazilī doctrine and 'Abbāsid religio-political policy? Such a search could scarcely prove less fruitful than the long quest after Islamic sources of Byzantine iconoclasm. In a larger sense, however, the very effort to demonstrate a one-way flow of inspiration or formative influence may be ill-advised. Byzantium and Islam in the eighth and ninth centuries (and even beyond) seem almost to present the aspect of a single society whose two major segments, despite their overt mutual hostility, display prominent signs of cultural unity and often confront the discerning observer with a parallel religio-political evolution in which similar questions are posed and strikingly similar answers given. Seen in this light, the triumph of Greek Christian anthropomorphism in 843 and Islamic anthropomorphism in 848, and the concurrent collapse of the maximalist religious pretensions of Emperor and Caliph, should quicken curiosity but occasion little surprise.

NOTES

*This article is a somewhat expanded version of a paper delivered at the First Hellenic College Conference on Byzantine Studies, April 11, 1981.

1. Recent scholarship has modified the earlier scholarly tradition that assigned the sources of Byzantine iconoclasm to Islam. The author of one of the more arresting analyses of the image in Islam attributes to Jewish, Christian and Muslim iconoclasm "common social roots," nurtured by resentment toward state power and "the grander forms of depictive art [tending] to be associated with the monarchical power, its pride and its luxury" (Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "Islam and Image," *History of Religions*, 3 [1964] 227, 229). Oleg Grabar has questioned this assessment, insisting that "Muslim iconoclasm ...was not so much the result of a precise Islamic characteristic as a reaction to the type of images which existed at the time of the conquest" (ibid., 259). Gero's analysis "does not give much support to modern theories of Jewish or Muslim influence on incipient Byzantine iconoclasm" and does not take seriously the possibility of Christian influence on Muslim attitudes toward the image (Stephen Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III with particular attention to the Oriental Sources*, Vol. 346 of *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalum* [Louvain, 1973], p. 83; see also Stephen Gero, "Byzantine Iconoclasm and the Failure of a Medieval Reformation," *The Image and the Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Joseph Gutmann [Missoula, Montana, 1977], p. 53). Another writer goes further and describes Byzantine iconoclasm "as a reaction against Islam, not an adoption of its tenets" (Leslie W. Barnard, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy* [Leiden, 1974], p. 13). Cyril Mango asserts that "Iconoclasm ought to be considered not as a strictly Byzantine but as a Near Eastern movement.... There is a good deal of justification for calling it a Semitic movement" (Cyril Mango, "Historical Introduction," *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*, eds. Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin [Birmingham, 1977], p. 6). The literature is extensive, often interesting and quite inconclusive.

2. Gero, in Gutmann, *The Image and the Word*, p. 52.

3. See the translation and analysis provided in Stephen Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with particular attention to the Oriental Sources*, Vol. 384 of *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalum* (Louvain, 1977), p. 40.

4. Ibid., p. 43. For clarity, I have inserted a comma after "made" in the first line of this quotation.

5. Ibid., p. 74. Gero provides a translation of the *Horos* on pp. 68-94.

6. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 179.

7. Ibid., pp. 245-46.

8. On this extreme traditionist interpretation, see Hodgson, *History of Religions*, 3:222.

9. On the iconoclasts' appeal to tradition, see Gero, in Gutmann, *The Image and the Word*, p. 53.

10. Watt, *The Formative Period*, pp. 244-45.

11. Ibid., pp. 246, 248. Another scholar points out that by al-Ma'mūn's time, "the cult of the divine names was widespread in Islam..." (Francis E. Peters, *Allah's Commonwealth: A History of Islam in the Near East, 600-1100 A.D.* [New York, 1973], p. 199, n. 34).

12. Watt, *The Formative Period*, p. 295; Peters, p. 459.

13. Watt, *The Formative Period*, pp. 246-47.

14. Ibid., p. 246.

15. Peter Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1973) 15. Brown here is speaking only of the icon.

16. Charles Pellat (ed.), "Risālatun li'l-Jāḥiẓ," *Al-Machriq* (1953) 284.

17. Brown, *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1973) 26-27.

18. The novelty of this observation lies only in placing iconoclast emperors and Mu'tazilī caliphs in the same contemporary context.

19. Gero, *Leo III*, p. 55.

20. Ibid., p. 57.

21. This translation is drawn from Edwin Hanson Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: the Isaurian Period, Eighth Century, the Ecloga* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 38.

22. David Knowles and Dimitri Obolensky, *The Middle Ages*, Vol. 2 of *The Christian Centuries*, eds. Louis J. Rogier *et al.* (New York, 1968), p. 87.

23. Gero, *Constantine V*, p. 30.

24. Ibid., p. 71.

25. Knowles and Obolensky, p. 87.

26. W. Montgomery Watt, "The Political Attitudes of the Mu‘tazilah," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1963) 49.

27. Peters, p. 144, n. 3.

28. Ibid., p. 160.

29. Dominique Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife ‘Abbâside Al-Ma'mun," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* 30 (1962), 31, 43. The Shī‘a saw in the Mū‘tazilī doctrine of the created Qur'ān a partial theological justification for their argument that the Qur'ān had been falsified at ‘Alī's expense (Peters, pp. 197-98).

30. Al-Ma'mūn seems to have justified his designation of ‘Alī al-Ridā by resort to the Mu‘tazilī teaching that the caliphate should devolve upon the most meritorious. Thus the ‘Abbāsids would not have been permanently excluded from the office (Dominique Sourdel, "The ‘Abbasid Caliphate," *The Cambridge History of Islam*, 1 [Cambridge, 1970], p. 121). But is it possible that the Shī‘a would have accepted this reasoning and willingly acquiesced in the succession of an ‘Abbāsid to a Shī‘ī *imām*? The most meritorious could only have been another Shī‘ī *imām*. Al-Ma'mūn's motives in nominating ‘Alī al-Riḍā remain mysterious.

31. Sourdel, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 30 (1962) 37.

32. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ii, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1964), p. 1112. I have used my own translation of al-Ṭabarī. For another, see Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Mihna* (Leiden, 1897), p. 57. See also Sourdel's comments on this passage (Sourdel, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* 30:44).

33. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1117; Patton, pp. 65-66. See also Sourdel's comments on this passage (Sourdel, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques,* 30:44).

34. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1120; Patton, p. 69.

35. Gero, in Gutmann, *The Image and the Word*, p. 55.

36. Barnard, p. 6.

37. Brown, *The English Historical Review*, 88:33.

38. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1114; Patton, pp. 58-59.

39. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1126; Patton, p. 75.

40. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1127; Patton, p. 76.

41. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1127; Patton, p. 77.

42. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1128; Patton, p. 77.

43. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1128; Patton, p. 77.

44. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1130; Patton, p. 79.

45. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1129; Patton, p. 78.

46. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1127; Patton, p. 77.

47. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1112-13; Patton, pp. 57-58. See also Sourdel's comments on this passage (Sourdel, *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 30:44).

48. Ibid.

49. Pellat, *Al-Machriq* (1953), 284.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., 287.

52. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1122; Patton, p. 71.

53. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1123; Patton, p. 72.

54. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1125; Patton, p. 75.

55. Watt, *The Formative Period*, p. 179.

56. Brown, *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1973) 10.

57. This hypothesis seems to have originated with Ostrogorsky (George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey [New Brunswick, N.J., 1969], pp. 152, 172-73). Brown and Gero see not much in this argument (Brown, *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1973) 2-3; Gero, in Gutmann, *The Image and the Word*, pp. 51-52).

58. Ibid.

59. Watt, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1963) 45.

60. Theophanes Continuatus, cited in Cyril Mango (ed.), *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453 (Englewood, N.J., 1972), p. 160.*

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JOHN F. HAVLIK

EVANGELISM IN THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

During these hours of dialogue there have been several references to John the Baptist. We moved to Wichita, Kansas, when I became the state secretary of evangelism for the Kansas Convention of Southern Baptists. Our daughter Brenda, then six or seven, was delighted to find a family just across the street with three children in her age range to play with. One day I was at home working when Brenda came running from across the street out of breath. "Daddy," she gasped, "they say that the Baptist Church is not even in the Bible and that their church is the first church and the only real church. They say that the Catholic Church is the right church." I said, "Brenda, you go back and ask them if the Catholic Church is the right church and the only church in the Bible, why does the Bible say, 'John the Baptist,' and not 'John the Catholic.' " She ran back across the street, and I saw all the little heads get together in a huddle. Then the Catholic children shot in their house! I could just see the father trying to straighten that one out. That was my first attempt at ecumenical confusion.

Now I will attempt to tell you what Southern Baptist evangelism is like. I am going to begin by sharing with you my own personal experience. I was born in a house in an ethnic section of Milwaukee where my parents had lived for about thirty years. I am a first-generation American, my father having immigrated with his parents from Austria-Hungary. I suppose we would have been called nominal Roman Catholics. When the Great Depression caused unbelievable movement of peoples in the United States, our family was among the nomadic families in search of work. We finally terminated our wandering in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where through the loving, caring ministry of some Southern Baptists in what was then the Bethel Baptist Church, my two sisters and I became Christians and, eventually, Southern Baptists.

My experience of conversion was a spiritual serendipity, a happening, an event. One of the criticisms I often hear is that the experience that Southern Baptists talk about as 'a new birth' is too emotional and has too little social impact. For as long as I could remember I hated my father. This was not some childish resentment; it was an intense, protracted, and well-nourished hatred. My father was a social radical and an alcoholic. My experience with Christ in a Gospel revival tent on the corner of 21st and Lewis changed my thinking about my father, and I don't mean two weeks later – I mean that very night. *That* is social impact; *that* is metanoia. I have never claimed any kind of perfection since that experience, but I have never been the same; and I am still growing in His image.

Experiential Faith and Proselytism

You cannot understand Southern Baptist evangelism unless you understand it in the context of experiential faith. You cannot understand me unless you understand my commitment to that personal experience in Christ that brought me from darkness to the light of the kingdom of God and His dear Son. When the Southern Baptists came to visit us in Tulsa, Mama slammed the door and said, "We are *Catholics,* " or "We are *Lutherans* " (depending upon which she thought would frighten them the most). But the Southern Baptists came back again to ask, "Do you ever go to your church?" Then they always got around to the question, "Have you been born again?" This insistence on 'heartfelt religion' was not just the property of Southern Baptists. Peter Bohler, the Moravian, asked John Wesley somewhere on the Atlantic, "John, have you been born again?" That searching question was not an attempt to convert Wesley from the Anglican to the Moravian Church. It was aimed at bringing John to the same discovery of being 'surprised by joy' that Peter Bohler already knew and experienced.

It is true that sometimes Southern Baptists and other evangelical Christians may be guilty of a triumphalism that supposes that all other non-evangelical Christians are really not Christians at all. That is, of course, patently false. Some Southern Baptists may also operate under the supposition that all Southern Baptists are Christians. That, too, is false. We will discuss this further under the last topic on my agenda this morning. The desire for others to share the same experience in Christ that you have experienced is basic to Southern Baptist evangelism.

The only basis for your understanding me and how I feel about the new birth, experiential faith, and conversion is to see me in the light of my experience with Christ. If I meet a Southern Baptist who says he or she has never been born again, I want that person to know Christ; and I will share the joy of knowing Him with them. If I meet a Greek Orthodox who has never experienced that joy, I will share that joy with that Greek Orthodox person. I want them to know that joy; I want them to experience Christ in the same way.

I could have spent a lot of time tracing this 'heartfelt religion' back to German pietism; and, indeed, there are deep Baptist roots in the fertile soil of German pietism. What happened in the Raritan Valley in New Jersey under the preaching and teaching of Freylinghuysen did influence The Great Awakening and, consequently, Baptists in America. Southern Baptist evangelism at its best is an evangelism that wants very much for every person to become personally involved with Jesus Christ. Southern Baptists generally are not concerned much about tracing our apostolic succession back to Peter and the apostles. Our overriding concern is that we, as Christians, and our churches, as churches, are like the Christians and the churches in the Book of Acts. We feel that the compulsions that drove the Early Church to the ends of the earth and to the end of time (that church believed strongly in the quick return of the Lord) must drive us to share the good news with every person, religious or irreligious, who does not personally know Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior.

Many Southern Baptists in local churches believe the myth that all Southern Baptist churches are alike. One Sunday I was in a church in a very large Southern city and was worshiping. They had experimented with an English mass the previous Sunday. They had a divided chancel. The pastor wore robes, and the liturgy was very traditional. On Wednesday night of that same week I worshiped in a church in the Kentucky mountains. They didn't sing 'Stamps-Baxter'; they sang 'stamp-faster'. They shouted and used bodily exercises in their worship. To me it was pandemonium for almost an hour before I was to preach. It was far more Pentecostal than Baptist. Both of those churches had some things in common. They both believed that one must personally experience the saving grace of God in Jesus Christ. They both believed that Jesus Christ is Lord of the believer and the Church. They both believed in a program of world evangelization and supported it through our cooperative program. They both were Southern Baptist churches.

Today Southern Baptists have over five thousand congregations of ethnic people bringing to their churches ethnic flavors that have their roots in Europe, Latin America, Polynesia, and the Near and Far East. The fastest growing group in the Southern Baptist Convention are the Koreans. The largest Southern Baptist church in California is a Chinese church. That church has employed an Anglo-mission pastor who preaches to a small group of Anglos that the Chinese are trying to evangelize. There are more than five hundred black congregations in the Southern Baptist convention. The black Baptists are having a growing influence upon the life and work of Southern Baptists.

The 'glue' that holds us together is not a creed or traditional orthodoxy (although Southern Baptists are theologically in tune with Nikaia even though they may know very little about it). Our 'glue' is our personal commitment to Jesus Christ as Lord, our commitment to the sufficiency of Scripture as a rule for faith and practice, and our mission to evangelize the world before our Lord's return. There is some attempt on the part of a few Southern Baptists to establish a Baptist apostolic succession as, for example, a little book called *The Trail of Blood* which claims apostolic succession through various groups such as the Paulicians, who were obviously heretical. These works are not taken seriously by any Baptist with a commitment to historical truth.

Revivalism in the Southern Baptist Convention

Several waves of revivalism have swept over the United States. The first is known as the Great Awakening from 1735-65. The second, from 1800-30, is sometimes called the Second Great Awakening, but, more generally, the Revival of 1800. The third, from 1890-1920, is characterized by the rise of the great evangelists. The fourth began in 1969, and we are still in it. I am accepting in this outline the findings of the social historian William G. McLoughlin, professor of history at Brown University, in his recent *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform* published by the University of Chicago Press in the Martin Marty series on "Religion in America."

Southern Baptists have a rich heritage in revival evangelism coming out of the crucible of general religious awakening. From the first Great Awakening the method of mass evangelism came to us. Southern Baptist preachers are capable revivalists. They are not uncomfortable in proclaiming the faith to large crowds of persons. Outdoors in the marketplace evangelistic preaching, which comes from the first Great Awakening, is still being used by Southern Baptists. Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, George Whitefield, and the Tennant brothers are familiar names to Southern Baptists. The ecumenism of Southern Baptists has largely taken the form of borrowing 'what works' from other Christian groups and movements and using them effectively in evangelism.

From the Revival of 1800 Baptists bought into the camp meeting and the protracted evangelistic meeting methods. The Presbyterians were probably the leaders in the Revival of 1800. The Baptists were not happy with some of the excesses they saw in the general camp meetings. 'Barking,' which was the counterpart of some of the things the churches were experiencing in the 60s and 70s in glossalalia, was abhorred by the Baptists. This is a little twist since the more educated Presbyterians and others allowed the excesses to split their denominations into 'old lights' and 'new lights,' while Baptists were united and came out of the Revival of 1800 strengthened numerically. Baptists in Kentucky in the first decade of the awakening multiplied the number of churches and the number of Baptists by five. To this day, the annual revival and occasional revivals are times of reunion for Baptist churches.

The Awakening of 1890-1920 saw the full flowering of the great evangelists, the city-wide campaigns and the birth of simultaneous evangelism. (Southern Baptists have organized a wedding of city-wide campaigns and local church revivals that we have called 'simultaneous evangelism.' It really was not a Baptist method of evangelism in the beginning.) Wilbur Chapman, a Presbyterian and an aide of Moody, was not satisfied with the evangelism of Moody because it took the focus away from the local congregation. Instead of one great central meeting with a highly visible evangelist, the move was toward all the local churches conducting revivals at the same time with media attention. Southern Baptists, under the leadership of C.E. Matthews, used simultaneous evangelism to grow five times faster than the population growth rate during the 50s. Local churches focused on the non-Christians in their own communities. Seminars were conducted on evangelistic methods usually at breakfast meetings of the pastors and evangelists. During the 50s they featured street meetings and preaching in prisons and other institutions.

Presently Baptists are placing a great deal of focus on youth evangelism. John Bisagno, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Houston, used to bring the fervor and enthusiasm of the Jesus revolution into the church. A Bisagno convert, Richard Hogue, brought 'Spireno,' a youth-oriented evangelism with many features of the Jesus revolution, into local churches with some startling results—alienated youth were brought back into the mainstream of Baptist life and work. Although some of the preaching by youth evangelists was 'frothy' and manipulative, there were some very lasting and important results.

Southern Baptist Evangelism and Education

The Sunday school was a Methodist invention which Southern Baptists have developed to a very high degree of quality and efficiency. Our Sunday School Board was at one time (and may still be) the largest user of the U.S. mails next to the government itself. It far exceeds any of the mail order houses.

If I had to name the two greatest evangelists in Southern Baptist history, I would name C.E. Matthews and J.N. Barnette. Barnette was a layman and directed the growth of the Sunday school in the period when our growth was nothing short of phenomenal. At one and the same time, our denomination was hearing two clear calls to evangelism. Barnette was calling on Baptist Sunday schools to enroll every person from birth to the day before death in Sunday school. He said, "Enroll them for Bible study, bring them to Christ and discipleship, baptize them, teach them, and lead them to take a class and teach." Matthews, at the same time, was calling on us to preach the Gospel, give public invitations to accept Christ, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In the 70s, every Sunday school teacher was encouraged to attend a lay evangelism school in which they were led to understand how to share their personal Christian testimony, how to make a witnessing visit in a home, and how to lead persons to a decision for Christ. The school featured creative activities designed to break down barriers of race, fear, and natural timidity. It is still being used effectively by many churches in connection with the Sunday school as a tool in evangelism. The denominatons which have catechetical groups have accused us of not instructing converts carefully in the faith. What they do not realize is that most of our converts come out of the Sunday school where they may have been enrolled since birth. In spite of the erosion of family life which exists presently in American culture, the family plays a large role in Christian education in a Baptist church. Daily Bible readings assigned by church training organizations and daily prayer lists for home and foreign missionaries are an important part of Christian education and nurture in the home.

Southern Baptist Evangelism and the Layperson

We have already stated that we have a rich heritage in German pietism. We also have a great legacy from the Reformation via the Renaissance as regards the priesthood of the believer and the importance of the laity. The Southern Baptist pastor, who earns respect by his Christlike example and doctrinal integrity, is held in high regard by his congregation; but bowing to him as you do your priest on occasions or referring to the bishop as 'your grace' smacks too much of royalty for the Jeffersonian Baptist. Indeed, in America the very first conflict was the Puritan-Anglican conflict that led to the Revolution. Essentially, the Southern Baptist pastor is also a layperson upon whom God has conferred spiritual gifts for leadership in the congregation. The title 'reverend' is still not worn well by many Southern Baptist pastors. (I must confess that I have a personal aversion to it.)

Shubal Stearns was himself awakened by the Great Awakening. I was recently in a conference just eight miles from the town in Connecticut where he was pastor during the awakening. He came to Virginia where he was ejected for being a revivalist who was always concerned about his neighbors' relationship to God. He came to Sandy Creek in Guilford County, North Carolina, with his brother-in-law, Daniel Marshall. They organized the Sandy Creek Baptist Church, and in the next forty years that single Baptist church had organized churches from Chesapeake Bay to Georgia and from the Atlantic to the Kentucky-Tennessee frontier. They were called Separate Baptists, which was another way of saying 'lay-oriented, revivalistic, evangelistic Baptists.' The great thrust of Baptists down the Piedmont into Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and finally Texas was a thrust of lay preachers who were, for the most part, farmers.

Continuing witness training is a bold plan presently being launched to motivate, train, and equip every Southern Baptist for lay witnessing. The strategy is to penetrate all the orders of our common life with the message of the Gospel. It is our feeling that even our lay-oriented pastors underestimate the ability and will of the layperson to evangelize in the marketplace. We have an equally strong feeling that the laypersons in the church do not have a strong evangelistic model in their church leaders. We also feel that there is in almost all of our churches a growing number of laypersons who want a piece of the evangelistic action. They want to do more than chair a committee in charge of the inconsequential.

The Weaknesses of Southern Baptists

These are the weaknesses as I see them. I think that some of them are very serious and do jeopardize New Testament evangelism. I see these as tendencies that can lead us into trouble. Some of them have been with us a long time, and others are perils connected with the times in which we are now living.

Civil religion and manifest destiny are a part of our Puritan heritage that we need to lose. While the Puritans gave us a legacy of many good things, including a work ethic that helped us to forge a nation out of a wilderness, they also gave us manifest destiny and Anglo-Saxon superiority. It is at this point that Baptists who know their history become extremely reluctant about coming to terms with the government. One gets the feeling when one hears some of the evangelicals preaching that they are calling us back to an America that once was, rather than calling us back to God. A prominent, very conservative Presbyterian who has a large following in lay evangelism says that he categorically denies separation of church and state. Our problem with that is we remember when denominations controlled the state (including Presbyterians), we Baptists went to jail for not having our children baptized as the state wanted us to. We can imagine what it would be like if some groups of Christians had control. Can you imagine the Supreme Court declaring short-shorts, lipstick, dancing, and card playing unconstitutional?

The strange thing is that such conservatives do all of this in the name of 'getting back to the Bible.' What they mean is getting things back to the way they were in rural Georgia or Texas sixty years ago. If you talk about Jesus feeding the hungry, loving the poor, and bringing about justice for the dispossessed, disenfranchised, and disillusioned, then there is not nearly so much anxiety about 'getting back to the Bible.' One of the things that made America strong was stealing Indian lands and turning the American Indians into emasculated alcoholics. Thank God some of them survived our brutality. There is another question: "Whose America do they want to get back to." Paul Harvey's America is a far cry from the America of the Chinese slave laborers who built our railroads.

There is a tendency amongst us which I believe is a weakness. That tendency is the feeling that America is the solution to all of the world's problems and that God has intended for us to be the savior of the world. The Gospel survives and makes converts in all the nations of the earth. One other great Anglo-Saxon world power also believed in manifest destiny, and "Britannia ruled the waves." Her empire is no more.

Whether Britain and America survive the tempests of history or not, when the last chapter is read, "All the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our God and His Christ." One cannot confuse any kingdom of this world with the kingdom of God.

Another weakness of our evangelism is that we sometimes seem to be selling cheap grace. "Jesus will solve your problems." "Salvation is free; it will never cost you a thing." The ethical demands of Jesus are sometimes never raised. Christian ethics are presented as not doing certain things. The 'no-nos' of the Gospel include no drinking, no dancing, no card playing, etc. We are continually being called back to a church where you cannot dance, drink, or commit adultery; but you can go on calling black people 'niggers' and give them a cast-off piece of clothing or a kick in the pants depending upon your mood. We are long on the 'Great Commission' and short on the 'Great Commandment.' "Love your neighbor as yourself" is taken to have no connection with eternal life, and Jesus clearly says that it has a definite and vital relation. "Love your neighbor as yourself" is taken to mean 'another white, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class conformist' and has nothing to do with interpersonal relationships between Samaritans and Jews.

A third weakness is triumphalism. Sometimes when Southern Baptists talk about evangelizing the nation and the world, we talk as if we were the only friends God has. Very often our strategies are planned, and statistics are quoted as if we were the only ones in the world who are evangelizing. Very often Southern Baptists are charged to evangelize because, "If we don't do the job for God, He will get someone else." We have difficulty seeing that "there are many sheep that are not of this pasture." We, on one occasion, gave percentage ratings for the different denominations for programming into a computer. Now I am just pulling these out of the air for the sake of illustration. So we say to the computer, "98 percent of Southern Baptists are probably Christians; 94 percent of American Baptists are Christians." Then we finally get down to the Episcopalians and say only 30 percent are Christians. This is nothing short of arrogant triumphalism. But we feed our arrogance into a computer and come out with 160 million persons in America who are not Christians, and that means every Southern Baptist will have to win twelve and one half people next year to win America to Christ in one year. These are assumptions, and all of them are grounded in our belief in our own omniscience, our belief that we are 'God's darlings.'

I must say in closing that I am a first-generation Baptist. I am a Southern Baptist and proud of it. Southern Baptists introduced me to Christ. They educated me. They gave me the only wife I have ever had. They gave me our only daughter from one of their children's homes. I think I know my Baptist history more than most Baptists.

I am a first-generation American. I love this nation under God. I never leave it or return to it without a lump in my throat and a prayer of thanksgiving in my heart. I think I know American history more than most Americans know it. Because I know my Baptist history and my American history, I am not inclined to sell my birthright for a mess of pottage.

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patronage from the Constantinopolitan court to the Church and powerful feudal families. Even among the few lay writers on the supplementary list we encounter intellectuals who in all probability used their pens in the service of the Despot John Palaiologos (No. 1) or the grand domestic Demetrios Kassandrenos (No. 10). Two or three (No. 8, 19, 37) seem to have belonged to the Patriarch's circle, not to mention a long series of bishops and high ecclesiastical officials. Only three intellectuals (No. 48, 55, 57) dedicated their works to emperors, and one to an ex-emperor (No. 53); true, some of them wrote letters to emperors (No. 30, 37, 40). Finally, if we bear in mind that some anonymous works of the period, such as the *Chronicle of the Tocco* or the *Chronicle of the Morea*, were obviously the products of lesser courts, we shall see that Š.'s pioneering statistical approach to the investigation of the social background of intellectual life in late Byzantium has really withstood the test of time.

Alexander Kazhdan
Dumbarton Oaks

Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century. By John Meyendorff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Pp. xxi + 326. $69.95.

Father Meyendorff is one among an increasing number of scholars who acknowledges the role of Byzantium in shaping the history of Russia. Drawing from two earlier articles, "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century: Religious Problems" [1] and "Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352-1354)," [2] M., in his latest work, examines Byzantium's political, cultural, and spiritual contribution toward the Russian principalities and details its role in the emergence of Moscow as a leader in the northern periphery of the 'Byzantine Orthodox Commonwealth.'

Fourteenth-century Russia provides the case study for maintaining that Constantinople exercised "the role of a universal centre, parallel to that of Rome in the Latin West" (p. 3). The continuous spiritual and intellectual activities of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate is the key for understanding how Russia historically and ideologically was integrated within the Byzantine Commonwealth. The influence of the Mongols, Genoese-Venetian mercantile interests, Lithuanian and Polish religious and political expansionist policies, and the nationalistic aspirations of Kiev, Novgorod, Moscow, and other Russian principalities are factors which define a complex historical process in Eastern Europe. These factors, discussed in the first six chapters, provide the reader with a working familiarity of the complicated diplomatic history of Byzantino-Russian relations from the mid-fourteenth century to 1453.

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[1] *XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Rapports 1. Bucharest 6-12 September 1971; reprint in John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems: Collected Studies* (London, 1974), pp. 51-65.

[2] *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967); reprint in Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm*, pp. 278-88.

In chapter one, "Byzantine Civilization in Russia," M. maintains that the character of Russian civilization from 988 was shaped by Byzantium's: (1) Roman political tradition, (2) Greek literary heritage, and (3) Orthodox Christian faith. Even though never directly dependent politically on Byzantium—Russia became part of the Mongol Empire (1237-42)—"its acceptance of the Byzantine political world view and of Constantinople's cultural leadership represents the greatest of all spiritual conquests of the Byzantine Empire" (p. 14). In contrast to Florovsky and Fedotov, M. sees Russia's devotion to religious art and the early development of a 'Russian' asceticism as proofs of the continuity of the Orthodox faith between Byzantium and Russia.

Chapter two, "The Catastrophes of the Thirteenth Century," and chapter three, "The Mongols, Their Western Neighbors and Their Russian Subjects" cover ground familiar to students of this period. M., however, notes an important parallel shared by Byzantium and Russia concerning Latin Christendom; namely, that a policy of loyalty to the Mongols and Turks rather than to the papacy and Roman Catholic monarchies of Central Europe proved to be less threatening to the religious and cultural ethos of the Byzantine Commonwealth. Often drawn into the political orbit of Lithuania and Poland as an alternative to the Tatar yoke, the western Russian principalities opposed papal appeals for a Christian alliance. The brutal military offensive of the Teutonic knights prompted a reaction, as M. describes, "in all things similar to the reaction of the Greeks to the sack of Constantinople: Western Latin Christianity became identified with conquest by crusading armies and forceful integration in a foreign civilization" (p. 55).

In chapter four, "The Metropolitanate of Kiev and All Russia," M. maintains that the texts of Nikephoros Gregoras and the patriarchal Synod of 1389, together with Canon 34 of the Apostolic Synod, "reflect a Byzantine vision of Russia, which inspired a very consistent policy" toward Russia understood "as a single 'nation' (ἔθνος), ecclesiastically united under a single head" (p. 76). The prestige of the imperial city, a symbol of the immutability of the οἰκουμένη (oikoumene), was perpetuated with diplomatic skill and historical realism by Byzantium under a united metropolitanate of Russia. M. provides a valuable source of information concerning the episcopal elections under Metropolitan Theognostos (1328-53) for the period 1328-47, which proves that the metropolitan of all Russia becomes "the main representative in Russia of Byzantine universalism" (p. 91). Subsequent attempts to create separate metropolitanates in Galicia and Lithuania faced strong opposition by the Byzantine patriarchs.

In Chapter five, "Victory of the Hesychasts in Byzantium: Ideological and Political Consequences," and chapter six, "Cultural Ties: Byzantium, the Southern Slavs, and Russia," M. holds that under the leadership of the hesychast patriarchs there was "an administrative and ideological reassertion of the ecumenical patriarchate in its leadership of the Byzantine Orthodox world" (p. 109). The patriarchal documents relative to Russia under the patriarchate of Philotheos certainly reflect the increased political and social role of the patriarch as the guardian of the οἰκουμένη. Using imperial legal texts as the Ἐπαναγωγή, the writers must have chosen such locutions deliberately "with the aim of impressing the still relatively unsophisticated Slavs with the importance of Byzantium as centre of the Christian world, even at the expense of strict canonical consistency" (p. 117).

Beginning with chapter seven, "Byzantium and Moscow," M. focuses upon the political powers which, while competing for leadership in Russia, in effect challenged the ecclesiastical administrative policy of Byzantium. M. assesses Byzantium's pro-Muscovite attitude in relation to the empire's foreign policy. This, in turn, was dictated by Byzantium's own internal struggles (e.g., Kantakouzenos and his political adversaries). Each combatant was committed to a different set of priorities. Out of this struggle Moscow appeared as the more reliable preserver of the Byzantine inheritance in Russia.

Byzantium's diplomatic virtuosity is extensively described in chapter eight, "Patriarch Philotheos and Russia (1364-76)"; chapter nine, "Metropolitan Cyprian and Moscow's Separatism (1376-81)"; and chapter ten, "Lithuania Turns Westwards." Philotheos' "very active and imaginative policies," and later Cyprian's unifying efforts against the growing sense of local nationalism under the Muscovite boyar party, show a consistent policy against local political interests which attempted to establish their own separate metropolitanates (Olgred in 1355, Dimitri in 1378). Even when Byzantium moved toward a coalition between Lithuania and Moscow against the Mongols, this traditonal policy was not abandoned. This shift, rather, shows a flexibility which did not contradict "the higher concerns of the Byzantine Commonwealth" (p. 181).

In the conclusion, whose subtitle reads "Dreams and Reality," M. indulges in a broad reappraisal of subsequent Russian history. Underneath the reality of Russia as a national state, M. sees the Russian consciousness deeply rooted in the Byzantine political ideology of the fourteenth century which "excluded the right of any nation, as nation, to monopolize the leadership of the universal Orthodox Christian Commonwealth" (p. 275). The last paragraphs echo a messianic hope that the 'dreams' of Philotheos and Cyprian, inherent in the revival of nineteenth-century monastic spirituality and Orthodox witness in twentieth-century Russia, might temper the 'realities' of Russian history.

Well documented, M.'s study is an important textbook for the student with specialized interests in medieval Eastern European history. Moreover, the appendices which provide a selection of translated Slavic and Greek sources, and a map of Eastern Europe ca.1390 compliment this study. To a well-intentioned reader the plethora of proper and place names can be overwhelming. Once one passes the first six chapters and focuses upon the diplomatic virtuosity of the Byzantine churchmen as explicated in the latter sections, he may find himself enjoying a true suspense narrative. Finally, M.'s interpretation of Byzantino-Russian relations offers an 'enlightened' approach for understanding the rise of Moscow without the anti-Byzantine bias, which has been part of the arsenal of some past Russian church historians.

The Patriarch and the Prince: The Letter of Patriarch Photios to Khan Boris of Bulgaria. By Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr.. Brookline, Ma.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982. Pp. 102.

This book contains an excellent translation of the ninth-century letter of Saint Photios of Constantinople to the Khan of Bulgaria, Boris (Michael by baptism). The historical introduction and the numerous critical notes are, indeed, helpful and compiled with obvious care. The sixth number in the Archbishop Iakovos Library of Historical and Ecclesiastical Sources, this volume is one of the most important contributions to the growing body of Byzantine historical texts in the English language. The translators (editors) are to be warmly congratulated for this fine piece of historical material.

Regarding the translation itself, the authors have taken great care in working from a number of reliable codices. Their discussion of the manuscript tradition reveals historical sophistication and a thorough familiarity with manuscript research. These are rare and increasingly unusual skills. The translation is smooth, handles idiomatic content carefully and, with no more than three or four exceptions, uses a very standardized vocabulary in expressing Saint Photios' spiritual advice to the Khan.

The most familiar text of the Patriarch's letter to Boris is an eighteenth-century French translation of the second half of the letter, set to verse and rather poorly paraphrased. The majority of the footnotes in the present translation, therefore, deal with this portion of the letter. The authors very carefully document, in their notations, the rather wide knowledge of classical and scriptural literature evidenced by Saint Photios' prolific allusions to these sources. Attention to this portion of the text, dealing with practical advice regarding a ruler's political and personal conduct, is certainly warranted, since the advice constitutes a rare insight into the Byzantine political *Weltansicht*. The remaining portions of the letter are not in any sense critically neglected by virtue of the

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cussion and understanding. Dr. Matczak and Dr. Tsirpanlis both bring in frequent comparisons where Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy find common ground and also contrasts where they substantially differ. Basic Christian theological issues are confronted directly and honestly, from the fall of man and the nature of sin to the Incarnation of Christ, the salvation and redemption of man, the kingdom of God, the restoration of fallen human nature and will, the Second Coming, and the meaning of the notion of the Messiah.

Orthodox-Unification Dialogue is very neatly printed, well edited, and well organized for maximum readability and critical study.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Mystery Religions in the Ancient World. By Joscelyn Godwin. London: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981. Pp. xvi + 176 and 142 plates. £10.00 net in UK only. Paper $8.95.

During the first five centuries A.D., the Mediterranean world was characterized by the presence of a wide variety of exotic cults whose attraction was such that it threatened the very foundations of the established forms of pagan religion. These so-called 'mystery religions' offered their adherents personal contact with their divinities and the promise of happiness after death, while their ancient teachings, rituals, and secret initiations were open to all who wanted to partake of them: Joscelyn Godwin's *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World* is a sweeping survey of the cults of Mithras, Cybele, Isis, Dionysos, Orpheus, Isis and Serapis, and others and includes a discussion of the Judaic, Gnostic, and Christian strains and the worship of the Roman gods and emperors. It is a book for the intelligent, sympathetic general reader, but by no means a book that provides any new material or even new insights into a much studied subject for the specialist. Professor Godwin, who teaches music at Colgate University and is the author of two books on two seventeenth-century universal men, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* and *Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge* (Thames and Hudson, 1979), is currently working on a source-book of writings on *Music, Mysticism and Magic* and is something of a Renaissance man himself.

Mystery Religions in the Ancient World seeks to approach its subject matter seriously, since these were religions that were at one time taken seriously by millions of believers. The author sees these religions as valid for their time and place as attempts to help people along their way to the true goal of human existence. It is the hope of the author that the reader will try to put one's self in the position of such an adherent in order to understand the real meaning of such religions: "In the case of a Mystery initiation, one must imagine one's entire life story, here and now pivoting around the great event" (p. 8). These were intense experiences and they were private experiences: "That is why there are 'mystery' religions. Mysteries are things which are kept silent in order to avoid useless arguments and misapprehensions—and, at certain times and places, simply to keep one's head" (p. 9).

Dr. Godwin sees five basic spiritual attitudes or orientations emerge that he calls 'Paths,' though he would agree that these are not limited to any period: "It is because they lead their followers along these archetypal paths that the Mystery religions are both justifiable and comprehensible" (*ibid.*). These paths are the Paths of the Warrior, the Monk, the Magician, Love, and Knowledge. The warrior's goal is to vanquish the opposition, supported by his belief in the validity and worth of his cause. Fundamental for the monk is the duality of spirit and matter, body and soul, and his conviction that it is his duty to free the soul from the human body through ascetic practice. The magician, on the other hand, seeks to unite the body and spirit ("He knows that man is a microcosm, and that even his physical frame is made, in some sense, in God's image" (p. 22). For the person following the path of love, "The ultimate object is 'nothing less than existing in God himself' " (Saint Gregory of Nyssa) (p. 26); and for the person pursuing the path of knowledge, perfect knowledge is both a possession and being and, on the mystical level, involves the dissolution of the difference between subject and object. "The two become one single self-knowing act" (p. 31).

Following this five-part introduction to the subject are fifteen brief chapters that deal with the Roman gods, mythology, the imperial cult, magical and folk beliefs, philosophers, Judaism, Gnosticism, Christianity, Mithras and Aion, Cybele and Attis, Isis and Serapis, Dionysos, Orpheus and Hercules, the overseers (Baal), and syncretism. There is a very select bibliography of books in English only, photographic acknowledgements, and a good index. The profusion of illustrations (over 150 of them) provides more than ample visual evidence of the power, extent, and vitality of these mystery religions.

Ancient Mystery Religions can help provide the uninitiated reader with an incisively written, vividly illustrated, sensibly organized introduction to a variety of ancient cults which need to be understood in terms of their own belief systems, the role that they played in the ancient world in general and specifically in the Roman Empire, their interaction with Judaism and Christianity, and their impact on that Roman world and on early Christianity. In this way, ancient mystery religions can be and should be understood within the larger context of the history of the religions of the world

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LLOYD G. PATTERSON

NIKAIA TO CONSTANTINOPLE: THE THEOLOGICAL ISSUES

I can scarcely begin without saying that it is a great honor to have a part in this celebration of the 1600th anniversary of the Synod of Constantinople A.D. 381. The occasion is first and foremost one on which all of us celebrate the common faith which unites us despite the differences and misunderstandings which have separated us. It is true that the Western churches continue to recite the Symbol of the Synod with the addition of the *filioque* and commonly use the Roman or Apostolic Symbol as the baptismal confession of faith. But these facts should not be allowed to obscure the commitment of the Western churches, no less than the Eastern churches, to the symbol of the Synod of 381 and to what it represents in the history of the definition of the Gospel.

I have already assumed that this is primarily a celebration of the Symbol of Constantinople—the Symbol of the One Hundred Fifty Bishops—rather than the other aspects of the work of the Synod, important as they were. It is in any case my task to speak to the theological issues in the light of which the symbol was framed. This is no easy task, involving as it does a review of one of the most difficult periods of theological history, and that in fairly brief compass.

I suspect we have all been taught, in whatever the precise form of words, that the outcome of Constantinople was "the reaffirmation of the faith of Nikaia." It was, in fact, both a good deal less and a good deal more than that.

What I mean by these somewhat obscure *dicta* will become clearer in due course. For the moment, I shall only note that the outcome of the synod was a good deal less than that "reaffirmation of the faith of Nikaia" which we often glibly take it to have been, insofar as its theological labors achieved far less than was anticipated by those representatives of what had become the Nicene position who were chiefly responsible for preparing the way for the Synod. But at the same time, the outcome of the synod was considerably more than a "reaffirmation of the faith of Nikaia" because the *homoousios* of Nikaia–the declaration that the Son is "of the same substance as the Father"–had come to stand for very much more by 381 than it had at Nikaia itself in A.D. 325. The placing of the *homoousios* of the Son in the symbol of the 150 was the result of the complex and subtle theological history which had unfolded in the course of the Arian controversy after Nikaia. That Nikaia was the beginning and not the end of serious discussion about the Godhead in the light of the issues raised by the Arians is now a commonplace. It was in the course of that discussion that the once obscure *homoousios* was refined and shaped into a vehicle for theological use.

The Synod of Constantinople had, then, this peculiar character–and here I state already the conclusion to which I shall come by slower stages in what follows–that it reflected and ratified theological agreement rather than anticipating or promoting it. It is for this reason that the theological developments of the decades preceding the synod are of such importance for understanding its work.

The Elusive Symbol

Any discussion of the symbol must, of course, begin with the records of the Synod of Chalkedon, 451 A.D., which report the reading of the Symbol of the 150 to those attending. Few, if any, now doubt that what was read at Chalkedon was the work of the Synod of Constantinople, or are concerned with the once serious doubts as to whether the received text was that of 381.[1] The theological and liturgical use of the symbol in the intervening period remains uncertain, though the paper of Dr. Chrestou at this symposium will be read with great interest for the light which it sheds on ecclesiastical and political circumstances which may bear on the matter. In any case, it was Chalkedon which brought the symbol to general attention, and in a measure contributed to elevating the synod of Constantinople to the place which it is accorded among the general synods of the Church.[2] Even a cursory glance at the events of the period before Chalkedon will show that it was the Symbol of Nikaia itself which occupied the attention of the great figures on all sides of the Christological controversy.

Contemporary evidence regarding the theological work of the Synod of Constantinople–and the formulation of the Symbol–is also difficult to assess. Gregory of Nazianzos, the Theologian, who had done so much as bishop of Constantinople to promote the Nicene cause, by his theological preaching in preparation for the synod, was more than half-hearted at the outcome of its labors. His embitterment–for such it seems to have been–may be no more than one among many examples of a great theologian's overestimate of the possibilities of a high level of theological discourse in a working Christian assembly. But his estimate has had something to do with promoting the general view that the synod did less than might have been expected of it.

We are now fairly, though not perhaps completely, certain of the principal reason for Gregory's estimate of the work of the synod. The work of Dr. A.M. Ritter has shown that the practical issue at the synod had to do with effecting a compromise with the Macedonians on the treatment of the Holy Spirit, and that the language arrived at–which speaks of the Spirit as "Lord and Lifegiver, proceeding from the Father"–fell short of that which was thought necessary by the strict supporters of the full *homoousion* of the Godhead. However, it seems doubtful whether this circumstance alone provides an explanation for the lack of reference to the symbol before Chalkedon.[3]

Whatever our uncertainties about the early history of the Symbol of the 150, however, it seems to me self-evident that it is a work of genius. The simple reference to the *homoousion* of the Son, freed from such cumbersome repetitions of Nikaia as the explanation of "eternally begotten" by the unwieldy phrase "that is from the substance of the Father"; the paralleling of the begetting of the Son and the proceeding of the Spirit; and of course the further elaboration of the final section–all these serve to make the symbol of far greater theological and liturgical usefulness than the Nicene formulation itself. To say this is not to pass judgment on the Nicene Symbol, which was in any case a conciliar document of a very particular sort. It is also to speak from the perspective of the theological and liturgical use of the Symbol of Constantinople, which has proved its worth many times over. But to say this is not necessarily wrong for that reason.

Theological Issues Behind the Symbol

All this is still far short of our subject, which has to do with the theological issues which lay behind the work of the Synod of Constantinople and which are reflected, in however unfinished a way, in the symbol.

We can come to our subject in short order by reference to the theological events which must be recalled in relation to the immediate preparation for the synod; in particular the theological preaching of Gregory of Constantinople in the Nicene congregation of the imperial city, and if Jerome's report is to be believed the actual reading there by Gregory of Nyssa of his first books *Against Eunomios*: events which must surely stand as occasions in the history of theological exposition which all present here would have given a great deal to have attended. These and other events, of course, comprised the final confrontation between the later Arian insistence on the knowability of the divine nature as "uncreatedness" (ἀγεννησία) and hence on the creatureliness (γεννησία) of the Son, seen as prerequisites to their being a mediator between human beings and God, and the insistence of the great Cappadocians, enlisted in support of the *homoousion*, on the inability of human reason to comprehend the divine nature (θεότης) of the three persons (ὑποστάσεις), through whose activities (ἐνέργειαι) human beings have been brought to participation in the divine life.[4]

Whatever may be said of the performance of the synod—and I will have made clear that my own judgement upon its work is not as critical as that of Gregory of Constantinople seems to have been—it is in the light of these preliminary events that its place in theological history is to be understood. If the Symbol of the 150 did not say all that adherents of the full *homoousion* of the Godhead wanted said, its use of the crucial word must be understood as that expounded by the two Gregorys and others who prepared the way for it. As I have already suggested, the symbol was the affirmation of a position already arrived at, rather than the introduction of a view or views needing to be recommended and developed.

The question then arises as to what this position was, and what had been at stake in the arrival at it. This is a question—indeed a whole subject and more than a subject—which is more far-reaching and controversial than any of the questions which still remain about the synod itself. I shall attempt to address it here in a very preliminary way; without hope of doing any more than that. It has been with us for a long time, and will continue for a long time to come.

Different Approaches to the Issues

The real problem in any attempt to deal with the complex matters debated in the decades before the synod is that of finding the "issue among the issues"—the thread which will unravel the rather loosely knit whole. There has not recently been, and doubtless is not now, any general agreement on the matter. It is perhaps best to identify some of the more common approaches, and to recommend my own among them.

One such common approach, perhaps the oldest and still most common, is that of studying the emergence of the 'orthodox' position through the history of the use and refinement of terms such as *ousia, hypostasis, energeia,* and the like with an eye to the way in which agreement on their meaning and use was achieved.

This can be, and has too often been, merely anachronistic. It has frequently proceeded on the tacit assumption that what John of Damascus finally said—or perhaps the Cappadocians—if not exactly written in heaven must somehow have been available to human beings from the outset, so that the great theological figures of the fourth and even earlier centuries are approached with an eye to whether they understood or misunderstood their true meaning. I do not mean to be merely caustic in my remarks at this point, and intend only to draw attention forcefully to a danger which is still subtly present in our thinking today. We all now know that, for instance, Origen made no clear distinction between *ousia* and *hypostasis*; and that while Athanasios seems to have done so in his later writings, probably under the influence of Basil of Ankyra and his associates, his use of *energeia* has none of the precision of the Cappadocians; and so on and so forth. Yet we still often speak as if noting such facts helped in some way to explain the great issues of the time.

I do not have anything like such anachronism in mind when I mention the illuminating work of Dr. G. C. Stead on the pagan and Christian uses of *ousia* prior to the outbreak of the Arian controversy, which shed much light on the issues relating to its use in the controversy itself. Similarly, and simply to follow along with reference to this one crucial term, had we not been accustomed to looking for the history of *ousia*, we would not—or at least I would not—have been alert to the evidence of Dr. T. A. Kopecek as to its function in the later stages of the controversy. Briefly put, is is now clear that the fears of the later Arians, Aitios and Eunomios, that the use of *ousia* in any form to describe the relation of Father, Son, and Spirit, would inevitably compromise the identification of the Son with the created order, were largely responsible for the efforts of Basil of Ankyra and his associates to employ the term in a fashion—in their case, of course, the *homoousion* fashion—which would decisively separate them from the Arians while avoiding the dangers which they had seen lurking behind the *homoousion* itself.[5]

I shall return to this matter shortly. At the moment, I am simply concerned to suggest that even at its most illuminating, the approach 'backward' through the study of the terms of the orthodox formulas has drawbacks. In fact it does not tell us why there was disagreement on describing the nature of the Godhead in the first place.

Another common approach has been that of investigating basic themes regarding the redemption of human nature in Christ running through many of the theological writings from the second century onwards, and of seeing these themes as confronting one another in increasingly opposed ways in the period from Nicaea to Chalkedon, in the views of Athanasios and the Arians, of Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorians, and so on.

We may recall here the influential work of F. Loofs as a comprehensive effort to explore the possibilities of such an approach. Loofs's attention was concentrated on the second and third centuries. But his distinction between a 'realist' tradition flowering in Irenaios and emphasizing God's immediate activity in the interest of the redemption of the physical creation, and a 'spiritualist' tradition characteristic of the Alexandrians and Origen, which discerns God's purpose as the redemption of souls from the disorder of embodied existence, had much wider ramifications. Few would now accept Loofs's approach. While it 'worked' chiefly for his studies of Irenaian themes, it failed to take account of the complexity of Origen's work and its influence in establishing the theological agenda for all sides of the issues of the fourth century. Nonetheless, it had the great merit of calling attention to the importance of differing ways of looking at the divine intervention in human affairs, one which emphasizes the divine initiative in establishing a relationship with human nature in Christ, another which emphasizes the perfection of human nature modeled in the incarnate life.[6]

More immediately relevant to our subject is the work of Dr. R. V. Sellers, which using somewhat different terminology distinguishes between an 'Alexandrian' insistence on the divine initiative in Christ for the redemption of human nature, present in Athanasios' defence of the *homoousion* and in Cyril of Alexandria's distrust of efforts to distinguish divine and human natures in the incarnation, and an 'Antiochene' concern for the perfection of human nature in Christ evident in varying degrees and fashions in the opponents of these great central figures of the theological tradition, extending in Sellers's view through the events from Nikaia to Chalkedon. Something like Sellers's view seems to underlie various recent studies in Arianism, including the joint work of Drs. R.G. Gregg and D. E. Groh which is perhaps somewhat polemical in pitting an Arian view of Jesus as the divinely appointed model of human perfection against an 'orthodox' Christ whose divine power is accessible through the baptismal and eucharistic community.[7]

I am far from wanting to discount the value of this general approach, especially as it calls attention to the soteriological aspects of the issues which led to Nikaia–and then to Constantinople. But it does seem to me that it runs the danger of making the distinctions between views of redemption too sharp–and misleadingly so. Athanasios' writings are certainly not unconcerned with the perfection of human life in Christ. Didymos the Blind held to the *homoousion* and was a master of the subject of the perfection of the soul greatly indebted to Origen. At the same time, the later Arians, Aitios and Eunomios, whose concern with the issue of redemption has begun to become clear with the aforementioned writing of Kopecek, certainly thought that it was God's work of redemption which they were enlisted to explain.

In any case, what is left out of account here, to the detriment of understanding the issues most to the fore as far as the public record is concerned, is an explanation of why both–and all– sides in the controversy were concerned with the relation of the *uncreated* Father and the *created* Son, and finally came to agree or disagree on the appropriateness of the *homoousion* to define their relationship. Unless this issue is to be regarded as merely speculative and irrelevant, some other way of approaching the controversy is needed.

Another Approach

The approach which I now suggest is by no means intended as a simple alternative to the others. The study of the use of such terms as *ousia*, and the exploration of the soteriological implications of the positions taken on all sides in the controversy, shed a great deal of light on the events leading to Constantinople.

What I want to suggest, however, is something rather different. It is that the difference–very largely unrecognized–between the character of Christian talk about God and the character of contemporary philosophical thinking about what I shall call at this point simply the 'divine,' provides clues to the explicit issues with which all sides were engaged between Nikaia and Constantinople—and had indeed been engaged long before.

I must start at a very considerable distance from the controversy in order to clarify what I mean, and proceed with exasperating simplicity in dealing with a complex matter. The earliest Christian confessional materials we possess use what we would not call 'relational' language when they speak of the new life into which we have been brought through baptism. That is, they proclaim, assert, and elaborate the implications of our standing in a new relationship to God, through his work in Christ, confirmed by the power of the Spirit. We need do no more here than cite Paul, the earliest but by no means the only evidence to this point. When he argues, for instance, that Christians have died to sin on the ground that those "baptised into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death . . . so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life" (Rom 6.3 ff.) he is arguing by reference to the confession of our relationship with God, and using his own habitual 'triadic' formulations (the life in the Spirit is plainly implied in the mention of "newness of life"). There is no need to suppose that fixed confessional formulas are in his mind to grasp the significance of this 'relational' language in explaining what it means to be a Christian.

Other examples abound, as when he confirms hope in the resurrection by saying that "if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you" (Rom 8.11); or when he says that "God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father" (Gal 4.6) so that we are not slaves but sons; or asserts the gift of the Spirit as the possession of the whole Christian community by saying that "no one calls Jesus Lord except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 12.3).

But one need not multiply examples. Paul is doing much more than recite formulas, even if such then existed. He is confessing, and drawing implications from, the reality of life in Christ. He is, of course, doing a great deal more than this. He is setting this new life in contrast to the old life from which believers have been saved. Moreover, his language is quite unintelligible apart from some knowledge of the life and hope of Israel, which he believes is being enlarged and fulfilled in unexpected ways through the inbreaking of God's final work in the death and resurrection of Christ and the outpouring of the Spirit. 'Spirit,' 'Lord,' 'Christ,' and even 'God' in the sense in which he uses the word—all have a wide range of meanings which are derived from the language in which Israel explained its relationship to God.

What Paul's language does not do is to function in the way in which the language of contemporary Hellenistic philosophy functioned in its attempt to define the difference between the real and unreal elements of the cosmos, the spiritual and the physical, rational and perceptible, being and becoming, or, in the common terminology in which the latter terms were discussed, the *uncreated* and *created* elements of the universe. Nor does the language we find in use in Paul speak to the question of whether what is uncreated rather than created is perfect rather than imperfect, or, in short, divine rather than not divine. To embark on that attempt to understand the universe, and to draw implications from it about 'the divine' is to enter into an intellectual quest of a very different sort, albeit a quest which absorbed the attention of the great intellectual world with which Christianity would inevitably have to deal.

Let me be quite clear at this point. I am not wanting to distinguish good Christian language from bad philosophical language, or to say that one sort of language was talking about reality while the other was not. I am simply pointing out that these are two different sorts of language, reflecting two different ways of talking about reality as perceived by two different sorts of people. If we can now see the differences more clearly than they could be seen in the early Christian centuries, that does not mean in any way that we would have been able to resolve the problems which arose from attempts at conflating them any more easily than the great figures of the early Church were able to do.[8]

We have already said that Paul's is not the only instance of confessional talk about the relationship with God into which Christians have been brought by faith and baptism, even in the very early evidence at our disposal. Confession of the new life with God, through Christ, in the Spirit is everywhere apparent in the documents later included in the New Testament. It is apparent in Justin Martyr's summaries of the work of God into which Christians have been brought through baptism (e.g. 1 *Apol.* 10.61ff.), in Irenaios' reiterated summaries of the Apostolic *paradosis* (e.g. *Adv. haer.* 3.1ff.), and elsewhere almost endlessly.

However, when we encounter Christian confessional statements of this sort by the time of Justin, they have already begun to serve another beside their confessional purpose. They have become starting points—a sort of 'base of operation'—for Christians alert to the claims of the philosophical tradition and engaged in explaining themselves to their learned contemporaries. In short, confessional language had come to function as theological language in a new sense; and a set of difficult problems emerged, at first general and perhaps largely unrecognized but shortly specific and increasingly recognized, which it would take a long time to resolve. These questions amounted to nothing less than an agenda for Christian thinking about God.

We are all familiar with Justin's insistence that the God to whom Christians are related, the Father of the Christian confession, was the sole *uncreated* reality whom Plato had described as fashioner of the cosmos. The identification was natural enough, defensible in the light of contemporary Platonic interpretation and of Philo's interpretation of Genesis. It was on this basis that he argued that the soul was *created*, and redemption possible only through participation in the community of the baptised (*Dial.* 4-5). Of the Logos, whom he saw dimly perceived in the Platonic world-soul, he only said that his creation should not be thought of as making him inferior, and occurred without any "breaking-off" (*Dial.* 61). Thus the problem of the *created* Logos was anticipated at an early stage, but as early left aside.[9]

Irenaios, too, stood aside from the problem of the *created* Word. The imperfection of the created nature, and its need for perfection, is Irenaios' fundamental answer to the Valentinian Gnostic notion that the inconsistencies in the scriptural accounts of divine intervention of human affairs, reflect various dispensations of lesser divine beings: it is only by a slow process of education that the created nature can be prepared for perfection and brought to the point where it can, in the grand Irenaian phrase, be "rendered in the image and likeness of the uncreated God" (*Adv. haer.* 4.38.1ff.). But the *uncreated* God is one and, following Justin, is the Father of the Christian confession (*Adv. haer.* 5.18.2-3). The *created* Word, eloquently described as the bearer of *uncreated* power and the source of the renewal of human nature in Christ, remains a perplexity (*Adv. haer.* 4.6.7.). His creation is simply beyond human understanding.

Origen, of course, squarely faced the problem of the created

Word, as he did so many problems facing Christian thinking in his time. His notion of the Word–and consequently of the whole spiritual creation which has its source in the Word– as "eternally created" is a highly sophisticated way of overcoming the suggestion of mutability and temporality which the term 'created' commonly suggested (*De princ.* 1.2.2.10; 4.5). Origen could entertain such a notion more easily than Irenaios might have done because he conceived of redemption as the return of rational souls (or intellects) to the spiritual communion with the Word from which they had fallen away prior to their embodiment rather than as likeness to the uncreated God. Origen's problems lay, among other things, in his difficulty in distinguishing the externally created Logos (and Spirit) from other spiritually created natures, though he certainly intended to do so; and in the fact that his highly sophisticated notion of eternal creation itself was capable of being taken to imply that the Logos was a second uncreated being beside God, which he certainly did not intend it to be.[10]

I have undertaken to rehearse much familiar ground, quite oversimply and with great hesitation, because I think that the issues of the fourth century can only be approached in reference to the issues of the centuries which preceded it. What seems to me fairly clear, even on the most cursory view of the matter, is that the interpretation of the confession of faith in God, Christ, and Spirit (or Father, Son, Spirit) in the light of contemporary philosophical assumptions about the universe had the result, almost inevitably as it must now seem in retrospect, of identifying the persons of the God head with elements of a mediatorial cosmological scheme which assumed grades of perfection and imperfection between ultimate and proximate reality.

To be more specific, Justin's identification of God or Father as sole *uncreated*–an identification persistently adhered to by his successors–made it hard not to place the Word or Son among *created* things, though both Irenaios and Origen, in their quite different ways, attempt to avoid doing so. At the same time, the use of the mediatorial scheme suggested that redemption was, in some sense, the approximation of a lower to a higher reality; and this is the case, once again, with views as diverse as Irenaios' notion of the assumption of the created by the uncreated, and Origen's notion of the return of minds to spiritual communion with the Word. And whatever might or might not have been the problems which such a mediatorial scheme posed in respect to redemption, it posed serious difficulties in the matter of the relation of the persons of the confession of faith to whatever contemporary philosophical though meant by the 'divine.' To tag one or another position as tending toward Monarchianism or Subordinationism is a useful ploy which quite misses the true dimensions of the situation, which have to do with the ways in which different ways of talking, confessional and philosophical, have become conflicted in the period.

What the next stage of discussion might have been, or ought to have been, we need not speculate about. We know that it took the form of reactions to the teaching of Arios and his early supporters.

The Great Controversy

The views of the early Arians are, as we have noticed, just now a matter of renewed interest. I myself am unshaken in my conviction that Arios must be placed among those who stood in reaction to Origen's notion of eternal creation from within intellectual circles profoundly influenced by Origen's definition of theological issues. Specifically, the proclamation that the Son was "constituted by [God's] will and counsel, before times and before ages" but that "before he was created . . . he was not, because he was not uncreated" (*Ep. ad Eus. Nic.* 5; cf. *Ep. ad Alex.* 3-6) must be understood to take the same view of Origen's treatment of the eternal creation of the Word which Methodios had taken, in startlingly similar language, regarding Origen's treatment of the eternal creation of the cosmos: that it implies the existence of a second uncreated beside God.[11] The recent work of Gregg and Groh, already mentioned, discerns another motive: that of saying that only if the Son is such by the will of the Father can it be assured that there is offered in the Son the model of perfection which ensures the possibility of the perfection of others. But these do not, despite many differences in the treatment of sources, strike me as mutually exclusive approaches to understanding the early Arians. The notion that the life of the incarnate one is a model of human perfection is a perfectly intelligible ground for questioning the Origenist view of the eternal creation of the Word, at least given a certain way of looking at its implications. Indeed, it is a model which can be found in Origen himself.[12] But however that may be, the insistence on God as sole uncreated and of all else—including the Word—as created from nothing runs as a refrain through the Arian writings, early and late, and with it the conviction that redemption is possible through the created Son, who is in fact Son by the will and foreknowledge of the Father.

We must, of necessity, overlook the complex views of those often diverse figures who regarded themselves as following in the tradition of Arios. It is the great merit of the aforementioned work of Kopecek that he has been able to show how the views of the Arians evolved in dialogue with those who stood opposed to them in the period after Nikaia. But it is necessary to limit ourselves here to brief reference to the views of Aitios and Eunomios, in response to whom the outlines of something like an agreed orthodox position finally emerged in the decades before Constantinople. For these later Arians, the nature of God is clearly known as uncreatedness, and such knowledge is the basis of assurance of the passibility of the created Son, and consequently of his capacity to function as redeemer.[13] Thus any reference to an eternal relationship of Father and Son is unacceptable, as is any effort to use the language of *ousia* to describe the relations of the persons of the Godhead. Such lines of thought not only compromise our knowledge of the divine nature but also endanger the redemptive function of Christ. Whatever be said about the earlier Arians, there is here a clear connection between the assertion of God as sole uncreated and the issue of redemption in Christ.

In contrast to the clarity of the views of the Arians, and particularly of Aitios and Eunomios, the views of their opponents are very unclear indeed. Both the adherents of the notion of a simple Nicene orthodoxy merely awaiting subsequent refinement, and those like Gregg and Groh, who see the Arians as embattled from the outset by such an orthodoxy, have this in common: that they assume much more consistency in the opposition than is to be found there. Why and whence the *homoousion* was introduced at Nikaia is far less clear, as we all know, than that many who accepted it were fearful that it eroded the distinction of Father and Son, or had physical implications, or (what is the same thing) smacked of Sabellianism. The Dedication Synod at Antioch in 341 repeated the anathemas of Nikaia but had preference for a now traditional assertion of eternal creation to the *homoousion*. Athanasios' views on the serious points at issue were, to say the least, slow in taking shape. Apart from Eusthatios of Antioch and Marcellus of Ankyra, both of whom there is still very much yet to be known, few had much clear to say that did not take shape in relation to those of the later Arians.

It was thus out of something which we might now call a dialogue that the orthodox position emerged. Athanasios mounted his effort to distinguish various ways in which things can be called uncreated and created (*De decr.* 7) and to define the primordial relationship between Father and Son (3-4), as well as to clarify the meaning of *homoousios*, in response to—and one might almost say in concert with—the emergence of the Arian position in its starkest form. Basil of Ankyra, whose unfortunately sparse remains are just now a subject of interest, worked in the same fashion in his clarifications of the notion of three *hypostaseis* as either having like or similar *ousiai* or more subtly as having what can only be rendered in English as "substantial likeness."[14]

Moreover, in both Athanasios and Basil of Ankyra, there begins to appear, set against the Arian position, another sort of argument which has, I think, gone long unnoticed in our concern with the use of ousia and other terms. This is an appeal to the phenomenon of baptism as evidence of the treatment of theological problems. Thus Athanasios argues that since baptism is one event and cannot be understood without equal reference to Father, Son, and Spirit the persons of the Godhead are one: "since there is from God one grace, which is fulfilled through the Son, in the Holy Spirit, there is one divine nature" (*Serap.* 1.14, cf. 30).

This is the argument in its Athanasian form, with predictable insistence on the "one nature." But the same sort of argument is found in Basil of Ankyra to a like effect: that of reaching beyond the framework in which the later Arians insisted in placing the discussion and of locating it in context which, interestingly enough, involves taking the old confessional language with renewed seriousness.[15]

These then were the ingredients out of which was created the general agreement with which the later Arians were confronted after the meeting of Athanasios and followers of Basil of Ankyra at Alexandria in 362, where Athanasios conceded that those present held views which could equally be regarded as conforming to the definition of Nikaia (*Tomus ad Ant.* 5-6) and laid the basis on which a common position could develop. After 362 the distinct *hypostaseis* of Father, Son, and Spirit could be affirmed, and the *homoousion* of Nikaia taken to celebrate—and retrospectively to have celebrated—that affirmation. Eunomios was still to argue the case for the radical distinction of uncreated and created, with its implications for redemption; and the force of his argument remained to be answered. But a turning point had been reached, and a basis established for describing the relation of the persons of the

Godhead in terms different from those appropriate to describing the relation of the Godhead and the creation. The orthodox position—if it can even yet be called that—was the result of a growing clarity on the part both of those who accepted and those who rejected the main Arian tenets—a clarity brought about by slow stages and through much confusion and uncertainty.

What then was at stake in the controversy, which we have once again reviewed in a highly oversimple fashion? I suggest that both—perhaps better all—sides were struggling with the problems inherent in earlier attempts to explain confessional statements about the relationship established by God, through Christ, in the Spirit in the light of the quite differently based mediatorial cosmological assumptions of the time. The problems in question were by no means unreal, either with regard to what might be meant by the 'divine' or with regard to what might be meant by redemption. Nor can it be said that either side resolved or ever fully understood these problems. This is clear enough with Aitios and Eunomios. Their insistence on God as sole uncreated, now based on uncompromising epistemological principle, served to ensure that the created Son could save because he was passible as the uncreated was not. It thus employed, in a peculiar fashion, the distinction between the uncreated and created as a distinction between perfection and imperfection which had for so long been a hidden problem in Christian efforts to explain the relation of God and creation in contemporary terms. But similar difficulties are evident among those who finally rallied to the definition of Nikaia as that had come to be defined. The strength of their position lay less in their ability to deny the logic of the Arian position than in their success at avoiding that logic by the sometimes highly artificial interpretation of terms which seemed to provide a more adequate explanation of the reality of the life with God established through Christ in the Spirit. The appeal to the event of baptism and the language of the confession of faith, noticed above, seems to me especially significant in this regard, as offering data against which the adequacy of theological speculations could be tested and judged.

The Cappadocians—and a Conclusion

Between the place to which we have come and the Synod of 381 there stands one great event in theological history which cannot go unnoticed, but which is too far-reaching in its significance to be more than merely noticed—almost taken for granted. The embracing of the Athanasian position of 362 by the Cappadocians is yet another whole subject in itself. It must suffice to say here—what is not at all unfamiliar—that their contribution to the emerging orthodox position was a reconsideration of the distinction between the uncreated and the creation—the distinction which, we have suggested, had done much to complicate Christian thinking about the relation of God and the world since Justin Martyr. Adhering to the position of 362 but absorbed with the problem of the knowability of the divine nature as expounded by Eunomios, they mounted their argument that the divine nature is in fact inaccessible to intellection no less than to perception, since the object of reason is the structure of the cosmos—or universe—rather than its divine ground or source. The divine nature is present and operative—and hence knowable—in its *energeiai*, the activities which embrace the whole of the universe itself, and in that indirect fashion with ways of speaking about the relations of the persons of the Godhead.

We need not, and of course cannot, here discuss the emergence of this argument as it came to appear in its classic form of the theological orations of Gregory of Constantinople and the *Contra Eunomium* of Gregory of Nyssa, to which reference has already been made. It had antecedents in Philo, in Clement of Alexandria, and in Plotinos and other pagan interpreters of Plato. But its use by the Cappadocians not only has peculiar features of its own but served to function as the much needed way around the inexorable logic of the later Arian position, which here above all served indirectly to concentrate Christian thinking about the relation of God and creation.[16] I shall thus limit myself simply to saying that I think it wrong to treat the work of the Cappadocians, as has often been done, simply as the development of a doctrine of the divine *apophasis*. It is very much more than that. It is a way of thinking about the relation of God and creation which breaks through and beyond the basic philosophical assumption that the divine is to be thought of as part of the discreet and knowable cosmos: the assumption which had been at work in subtle and unrecognized ways on all sides of Christian debate before and after Nikaia. The light which the work of the Cappadocians thus sheds on the controversy is enormous; and its implications for all aspects of Christian thinking virtually incalculable.[17]

But I must do no more with the Cappadocians than let them bring me back to the Synod of 381, with which they had much to do in a preparatory way, but which Gregory of Constantinople at least found less than fully satisfying in its outcome. The council did in a sense ratify Nikaia. In fact it employed the *homoousion* with respect to the Son as it had come to stand for the orthodox position which had been slowly and painfully hammered out in the intervening period, and especially after 362. The Symbol of the 150, whatever its illusive subsequent history and despite the debt we owe to Chalkedon for its emergence to public view, embodies that orthodoxy in a form that has been useful ever since—and remains so today. Without any disrespect to the definition of Nikaia itself, I submit that Constantinople is far the better vehicle for the confession of faith in the relationship with Father, Son, and Spirit which it sought to articulate and proclaim.

If Gregory of Constantinople regretted the compromises made with the Macedonians with respect to the language about the Spirit, it may be the case nonetheless that it is a less argumentative document as a result of them. After my praise of the Cappadocians, I may be allowed the suggestion that great theologians—even very great theologians—are not always, in the providence of God, the best judges of conciliar documents.

NOTES

1. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London, 1971), chap. 10, offers an invaluable review of conflicting views on the subject. The debt which all owe to this justly celebrated work as a whole needs no special comment here.

2. Panagiotes Chrestou, "The Ecumenical Character of the First Synod of Constantinople, 381," *Symposium to Commemorate the 1600th Anniversary of the Second Ecumenicl Council*, Brookline, Mass., 9 October 1981. See present volume, pp. 359-74.

3. Gregory the Theologian, *Carm. hist.* 11.1703 ff. accuses the council of compromising the true faith. See A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Heidelberg, 1965), pp. 189ff. on accommodation with the Macedonians, a view accepted by Kelly, *Creeds*, pp. 326ff.

4. Gregory the Theologian, *Orat.* 27-31 are needless to say the famous 'theological orations.' Jaeger's edition of Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomios* 1-2 has now rectified the order of the books and made it possible to place the remains of Eunomios, *Apologia apologiae* in relation to Gregory's reply to it.

5. G.C. Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford, 1977); T.A. Kopecek, *A History of Neo-Arianism*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979). I am far from suggesting that

either is a 'word study.' Stead's is an effort to set out background against which Christian use of the term must be understood; Kopecek's is a broad and detailed analysis of the intricate relations of later Arian and opposing views.

6. F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* 4th ed. (Halle, 1904), but also *Paulus von Samosata* (Leipzig, 1924) and many other works.

7. R.V. Sellers, *Two Ancient Christologies* (London, 1940), *The Council of Chalcedon* (London, 1953); R.G. Gregg and D.E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia, 1981). The latter work certainly does not follow a Sellers 'line' in any way, but does try to see Arianism as "soteriological" in origin, and attributes to Arios himself much which Kopecek and others would, I judge, locate differently as belonging to the debate of Athanasios with the later Arians.

8. On primitive Christian *homologia* see V.H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions* (Leiden, 1963), but for more general considerations of Israel's 'confessional' language, see G. von Rad, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. Eng. tr. (London and New York, 1962) or H.H. Guthrie, Jr., *Theology as Thanksgiving* (New York, 1981).

9. The line here followed is similar to that of R.A. Norris, Jr., "Issues in Patristic Trinitarian Speculation," unpublished paper delivered at the Conference of Anglican Theologians, Washington, D.C., 1980. See also Norris, *God and World in Early Christian Theology* (New York, 1965).

10. It is virtually absurd to deal with great figures such as Irenaios and Origen in this cursory fashion. For a somewhat more cautious approach, see my "Origen: His Place in Early Christian Theology," *Studia Patristica* 17 (1983). Note that throughout this paper I make no distinction between various spellings of ἀγεν(ν)ητός and γεν(ν)ητός but translate all equally by "uncreated" and "created." I take it as too commonly recognized now to require argument that while Athanasios and the Cappadocians anticipate the later distinction by arguing that 'uncreated' and 'created' have a special use in relation to the persons of the Godhead, there is no clear terminological distinction in the period. Had there been–and in particular had it been possible to speak of something as 'created' without the implication of inferiority–there would actually have been no controversy at all!

11. I have argued for this view of Arios in "Methodius, Origen, and the Arian Dispute," *Studia Patristica* 17 (1983). See also M.F. Wiles, "Eternal Generation" and "In Defence of Arius" *JTS* n. s. 12 (1961) 284ff, xiii, 339ff; and G.C. Stead, "The Platonism of Arius," *JTS* n.s. 15 (1964) 16ff.; *Divine Substance*, 235ff.

12. Cf. only *De princ.* 1.2.9.12; 5.5; 2.8; 3.1. Methodios develops such a model, out of Origenist materials, at *Symp.* 6.1 among many other places; but it is not evidently a ground for his insistence on creation by the will of God in *De creat.* 4. Unless we adopt the rather speculative view of Gregg and Groh,

the combination of elements which underlies the Arian position is yet to be discovered. R. Lorenz, *Arius Judianz* (Leiden, 1979) offers, so far as I can see, no solution to the problem.

13. See Kopecek, *A History*, chap. 7, for an analysis of this motif as found in Eunomios, *Apol. apol.* It strikes me that the motif deserves more prominence than Kopecek gives it, simply on the basis of his analysis as it now stands.

14. The importance of the homoiousion or so-called Semi-Arian position has become increasingly clear since the work of J. Gummerus, *Die Homöusianische Partei* (Helsinki, 1900). See Kopecek, *A History*, chap. 3, and more generally. It is to be hoped that the work of my former student J. N. Steenson will eventually be available to correct my summary of what was doubtless the most important theological formulation of those who opposed the Arians but found it difficult to accept the *homoousion* of Nikaia.

15. E.g. the "Synodical letter" of Basil of Ankyra and associates in Epiphanios, *Heresies* 73.3.

16. See Brooks Otis, "Nicene Orthodoxy and Fourth Century Mysticism," *Actes du XII Congrès des Études Byzantines* 2 (1964) 465ff., and many other works, to the point that the Cappadocians (or at least Gregory of Nyssa) do not say that God is simply hard to understand but beyond understanding altogether. The line of argument from Philo to Clement, and thence from these writers through Plotinos to the Cappadocians has frequently been traced (e.g. R.E. Heine, *Perfection in the Virtuous Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 122ff. for a summary of Otis' and other studies). But the main and crucial point about the unknowability of the divine nature, as the Cappadocians developed it, seems as difficult to get across as it is important for understanding their views.

17. I have in view here such a recent work as A. Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford, 1981), especially chap. 5, which attributes to the definition of Nikaia a view of the Christian life as infinite approach to the infinte God which has wide ramifications for Christian spirituality but is, in fact, the outcome of the Cappadocian theology rather than of the definition of Nikaia itself.

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Ο ΣΤΑΡΕΤΖ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ *[Elder Zacharias]*. By Bishop Cyprian. Athens, 1983. Pp. 38 + book list. Paper.

This short book is important for several reasons. Firstly, its author, Metropolitan of the Greek Old Calendar diocese of Oropos and Fili, is one of the central figures in the dialogues toward union between the Old Calendarist zealots and the State Church of Greece. The fact that a Greek bishop would write about a modern Soviet elder gives one a vivid image of the kind of breadth of interest and attention that characterizes those who strive for church unity and cooperation among Orthodox of various ethnic and jurisdictional backgrounds. At the same time, the fact that His Eminence would choose to write about such an intensely spiritual man as Staretz Zacharias clearly shows us that the author's zeal for ecclesiastical unity is deeply rooted in an uncompromising and quite deliberate emphasis on the spiritual prerequisites for that unity and cooperation. Here in America, where Orthodox unity has been so elusive, and where efforts toward cooperation are often superficial, more political than spiritual in tone and less than successful, Bishop Cyprian's mind-set, which is so obviously set forth throughout this book, should be carefully studied and emulated. The irenic voices, as well as the polemical witnesses, in the Greek Church's struggle for renewed unity can be quite instructive for us.

Secondly, the book is important precisely because it does concentrate on a deeply spiritual figure who, in our time, brings to life the saintly virtues of the Fathers of old. If we often stress that our days are spiritually vapid, and that most of the would-be elders and spiritual guides in our age are figments of their own spiritual imaginations or delusions—especially in America—it is perhaps equally important to point out that there are *still* among us, both now and in the recent past, some spiritual men and women who rise to the level of the ancients. Father Zacharias was one of them. Born in 1850, he links old Russia with the suffering Soviet Union. He was formed in Holy Russia, in the old Orthodox world, but he blossomed in the contemporary Orthodox world. Baptized in an Orthodox Russia, he was tonsured to the Great Schema by a Catacomb Church Bishop in the atheistic Soviet state. He presents to us a perfect paradigm, then, of what must be done to attempt holiness in our day: We must draw on the richness and spirituality of the past and let these things animate our souls amidst the adversities and abominations of our present times.

This little book very briefly describes the Elder Zacharias' heroic struggle with the modern world, recounting his miraculous life from the prophetic vision of his monastic tonsure by his mother, to the prophetic foreknowledge of his own death that the elder revealed to his spiritual children. It describes a life rich with the supernatural and with tremendous spiritual happenings that, while belonging to our own age, reveals a continuity with the lives of all of our Orthodox saints. It is a life which avers the universality of spiritual experience and the catholicity of the grace which pours upon those who prosper within the bosom of the Church.

Attached to this brief sketch of the Elder Zacharias' life are several sections which cite his miracles and which give the reader a glimpse of his teachings and aphorisms. His reverence for the *Theotokos,* his deep understanding of prayer, his thoughts on the acquisition of the Holy Spirit, and his insight into many mystical processes are revealed in these short sections. And if his life prompts one to imagine that the Elder Zacharias is a saint of old transplanted into our age, his teachings likewise bring to mind the ancient sayings of the Desert Fathers. Could not this expression, for example, have come from the mouth of any of the myriad Fathers of the Egyptian desert?:

> Prayer gives birth to humility, and without humility there is no salvation.

Indeed so. And thus we have also the witness of the elder's words to the enduring timelessness of Orthodox Truth.

The Elder Zacharias is not the first book in the Greek language on this great Russian Father. Nor is there a lack of material on his life in the English language. But this book is so disarmingly simple, and yet subtle, that it would behoove every American Orthodox to read it. The Greek, moreover, is quite readable, so that I am not at all hesitant to recommend the volume to a Greek-American audience, or to those with even a limited reading knowledge of Greek. Since I have translated several articles by Bishop Cyprian and, without exception, these pieces have met with an enthusiastic reception from English-speaking readers, I know that the present book will impress the reader with its deep spiritual insight and moderate, considered views. Indeed, one will benefit as much from the spirituality of the subject of his book. This dual source of spiritual force makes the book "must reading" for American Orthodox.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
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ALEXANDER VERONIS

ORTHODOX CONCEPTS OF EVANGELISM AND MISSION

His name was Archimandrite Chrysostomos Papasarantopoulos; born in 1902 and buried in 1972. He was short and bald with a white beard, pleasant, but not striking in appearance. He had an intensity about him that caught one's attention. He had fire in his heart, fire that kindled with faith in Jesus Christ. After meeting him, one would not easily forget Fr. Papasarantopoulos. A priest for many years, situated in the comfortable city of Athens, Greece, it was not until he was in his middle fifties that he found the opportunity to receive a theological education. He obtained a degree from the University of Athens, School of Theology, and shortly thereafter felt the call of Christ to "go...and make disciples of all nations" (Mt 28:19).

At the university Fr. Papasarantopulos met African students from Uganda, where for some years a small Orthodox mission had existed. They represented the first native Orthodox Christians from Uganda to be formally educated in the Orthodox faith. One of these fellow students, Theodore Nankyamas, would later play a prominent role and become one of the first Orthodox bishops in East Africa. Another, Demetrios Mumbale, would become the first Orthodox physician and founder of an Orthodox medical clinic in Uganda. So it was to Uganda that Fr. Papasarantopoulos went in 1960 at the age of 58 to begin his missionary work. (No official missionary society existed in Greece at the time.) Like the Apostle Paul, Fr. Papasarantopoulos ventured forth in full confidence that the God who called him would also provide for his needs and support. He was not to be disappointed. So much did Fr. Papasarantopoulos operate on faith that when an aspiring missionary wrote him years later inquiring about the health conditions, the climate, the job description of a missionary, and a host of other questions about East Africa, he replied characteristically: "My brother, since you heard an inner voice, crush your doubts, close your ears to what others tell you. Make the sign of the cross and begin your journey. As for the rest, leave all in the hands of our heavenly Father..." [1]

For the next twelve years, until his death in 1972, Fr. Papasarantopoulos carried on an amazingly productive ministry among the neophyte Orthodox missions of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania (Tanganika), and Zaire. Numerous obstacles confronted him: racism, language barriers, primitive living conditions, lack of funds, limitations imposed upon him by superiors, ill health, poor diet, etc. Not one to despair easily, Fr. Papasarantopoulos looked upon each obstacle as a challenge and managed "with God's help," as he was accustomed to saying.

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[1] Newsletter of the metropolis of Irinoupolis in East Africa, 12 November 1967.

Slowly his perseverance and pure faith began to reap a plentiful harvest. He learned Swahili and translated portions of the Scriptures and church services into the language of his listeners. In a whirlwind of activity, he traveled incessantly from village to village, preaching, teaching, baptizing, building small churches, establishing new parishes, and bringing the holy mysteries (sacraments) of the Orthodox Church to thousands of Africans. He kept up a vigorous correspondence with his friends in Europe and the United States and regularly published an informative 'Newsletter' of the metropolis of Irinoupolis in East Africa which he addressed to Orthodox Christians everywhere in the ecumene. He urged men and women to come to Africa to help labor in the plentiful harvest he found there. And those who could not come and be missionaries (ἱεραπόστολοι) he urged to become senders of missionaries (ἱεραποστολεῖς). "I beseech you," he wrote near the end of his life, "since I have been brought to the midst of the sea, pray and implore that our 'fishing for people' may not tarry to fill nets." [2] His zealous ministry attracted other missionaries to East Africa from Greece and America. One month before his death he wrote a letter from Zaire, a new area where he went to spend the final two years of his life: "I love the Africans and am fully convinced that the Lord has brought me here. I hope to use the few remaining days of my old age preaching and teaching here. The place I am now located in is a large city (Kanaga) of 50,000 people near the central part of the Congo (Zaire). The people are eager to learn about Orthodox Christianity. But I am old and alone and my capacities are now limited. I don't know how I'll manage, but the Lord Jesus will show me, as he always has in the past. Remember me in your prayers." [3]

The missionary work of Fr. Papasarantopoulos points to some traditional concepts of Orthodox evangelism and missions.

The Gospel

Fr. Papasarantopoulos' urgent concern to preach 'the evangelion,' the good news of Jesus Christ, to all humanity stresses a basic concept of Orthodox who see this as a primary mandate of the Lord. Orthodox believe that the Lord's gospel releases captives from sin and corruption, provides understanding to the spiritually blind, sets at liberty those who in any way are oppressed, brings spiritual renewal and new life from above, provides abundant living, sanctifies believers, and leads to deification

[2] Letter, 28 June 1971 to Alexander Veronis.

[3] Letter, 5 November 1972 to Alexander Veronis.

and salvation (Lk 4:18; 2 Cor 5:17; Jn 3:3, 16, and 10:10; Eph 5:26; 1 Cor 6:11; 2 Pet 1:4). They see the Gospel as God's truth which He wants humanity to hear and accept for all to live in His eternal kingdom of agape (love) (1 Tim 2:4; Jn 14:6). A famous Greek evangelist/missionary/teacher, Kosmas Aitolos (1713-1779), exemplifies the zeal of many Orthodox missionaries in preaching the Gospel when he says:

> If it were possible for me to ascend to the sky and cry with a loud voice and preach to the whole world and say that our Christ is the Son and Logos of God and true God of true God, and the life of all, I would do so. But inasmuch as I cannot do that great thing, I do this small one, and walk from place to place and teach my brethren according to my power.[4]

Social Concerns

Orthodox understand the Gospel as a message to the total person, physically as well as spiritually. They see Christ's teaching about healing the sick, feeding the hungry, caring for the widow and orphan, uplifting the disinherited, supporting the oppressed, fighting injustice, and making life in this world hospitable for all as part of the complete Gospel message. Well known in history are the Christian examples of luminous Church Fathers, preachers, and missionaries who combined social concerns with their preaching of the Gospel. Some examples are:

John Chrysostom (347-404), considered by some as the Church's greatest preacher, was born in wealth which he renounced early in life to take up an ascetic Christian life-style of simplicity, prayer, and philanthropy. Although he reached the highest office of the Church as patriarch of Constantinople, his unceasing railings against the rich and support of the poor eventually led him to martyrdom. His moral teachings and writings are still widely read and are an inspiration for philanthropy.

Basil the Great (329-378), the Cappadocian Church Father, brought the Gospel to many and founded monasteries, orphanages, and old age homes, becoming a champion of the world's dispossessed. His description of, and appeals on behalf of, the hungry sound like a contemporary appeal against world hunger:

> Hunger is the most pitiable of all ills, the worst of miseries, the most fearful of deaths. The point of the sword brings death quickly; raging fire puts and end to life suddenly; the teeth of wild beasts put an end to the miseries of men much sooner. Hunger is a long, slow punishment, an endless martyrdom. It is like a creeping disease with

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[4] Constantine Cavarnos, *Modern Orthodox Saints, St. Cosmas Aitolos* (Belmont, 1971), p. 20.

> death ever imminent, but always delayed. It drains the natural moistures of the body; it chills the body heat; it consumes the flesh and gradually exhausts the strength. The flesh, all colour gone, clings to the bone like spider webs. As the blood diminishes, the skin loses its lustre and turns black and dries up; and this poor livid body is of a mingled wan and sick colour. The knees no longer support the body; they are moved only when force is used on them. The voice grows reedy. Weak eyes lie useless in hollow sockets, like nuts in dried-up shells. The hollow stomach contracts, shapeless, shrunken, cleaving to the spine.
>
> What kind of punishment do you think is deserved by a man who passes the hungry without giving them a sign? [5]

Sergios of Radonezh (1314-1392) lived in extreme simplicity, thus identifying with the poor peasants of Russia. He conducted a vigorous monastic ministry of evangelism, missionary work, and social welfare among pagan tribes of the forest in the northern regions of Russia. He and his disciples founded fifty Christian communities which spread as far as the White Sea and the Arctic Circle. His life and ministry introduced two centuries of Russian spirituality (1350-1550) known as a golden age in Russian Orthodox history.[6]

Twice a year, on July 1 and November 1, the Orthodox Church commemorates the healing ministry of two third-century 'holy, unmercenary' physician brothers, Kosmas and Damian, whose reputations spread throughout Cilicia in Asia Minor during the third century. They were noted for their benevolent Christian ministry in caring for the sick in the name of Christ, whom they also preached. Both died as martyrs in 303, victims of the Diocletian persecutions.

Kosmas Aitolos, the eighteenth-century preacher quoted above, whom some consider the greatest missionary of modern Greece, is credited with founding two hundred elementary schools and ten high schools in eighteenth-century Greece because "the school," he believed, "opens churches and monasteries. It is at school that we learn what God is, what the angels are, what the demons, paradise, hell, virtue, vice, the soul, and the body are." [7]

Kosmas' achievements become more amazing when one considers the historical conditions of his time. Greece was undergoing a dark age in its Christian develpoment. The Ottoman Turks, Muslims by faith, imposed numerous religious restrictions upon the areas of the Byzantine Empire which they conquered and controlled for almost four centuries, even though they permitted Orthodox Christians to exercise their faith within limitations. Kosmas, for example, constantly encountered red tape from local Turkish authorities in order to receive permission to preach and teach the Gospel. Even with permission, he was warned against converting Muslims and had to confine his evangelism to the Orthodox. At the age of sixty-six his life ended in martyrdom at the hands of the Turks.

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[5] Robert Payne, *The Holy Fire* (London, 1958), p. 149.

[6] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore, 1963), p. 94.

[7] Cavarnos, *St. Cosmas*, pp. 13, 17.

The monastic community in Orthodox history contributed significantly to both the preaching of the Gospel and to showing social concern. In a revealing study on Orthodox social welfare and philanthropy during the Byzantine Empire's illustrious era, which lasted over eleven centuries, Constantelos remarks:

> As a result of the monastic philanthropy of love and service to mankind, monasteries became centers of hospitality, almsgiving, and care for the sick, the pilgrims, and the wayfarers...Basil counseled the members of his monastic city to work not only to keep the body under subjection, but to provide their institutions with sufficient goods to feed those in want.... Monasteries were usually havens for travelers, strangers, and the poor.... Charities were to be performed with compassion and love as if being offered to Christ.[8]

A contemporary Orthodox monastic, Mother Maria of Paris, supports this tradition of the social gospel when she writes:

> The bodies of our fellow human beings must be treated with more care than our own. Christian love teaches us to give our brethren not only spiritual gifts, but material gifts as well. Even our last shirt, our last piece of bread must be given to them. Personal almsgiving and the most wide-ranging social work are equally justifiable and necessary.
>
> The way to God lies through love of other people, and there is no other way. At the Last Judgment I shall not be asked if I was successful in my ascetic exercises or how many prostrations I made in the course of my prayers. I shall be asked, did I feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick and the prisoners: that is all I shall be asked.[9]

The Use of the Vernacular

Historically, Orthodox missionaries have followed the example of Fr. Papasarantopoulos and have learned first the language of the people they are trying to reach with the Gospel. In Orthodox history books Cyril and Methodios, the renowned Greek brothers of the ninth century who created 'Church Slavonic' through the use of the Cyrillic alphabet, usually get credit for epitomizing this concept. Before they left Thessalonike to become 'apostles to the Slavs,' they translated the Scriptures and liturgical services of the Orthodox Church into the vernacular. In Moravia (modern Czechoslavakia), where they and their disciples preached the Gospel, Cyril and Methodios encountered overt hostility from Frankish missionaries who believed that only three sacred languages should be employed for Scripture and worship in the Christian faith: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The persistence of Cyril and Methodios in using the vernacular eventually enabled all the Slavic nations (Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia, etc.) to read the Scriptures and to worship in a language they could understand.[10]

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[8] Demetrios Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, 1968), pp. 89, 90.

[9] Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (New York, 1979), pp. 52-53.

There were other prominent Orthodox missionaries who followed in this tradition. The Russian Stephen of Perm (1340-1396) translated the Gospel into the language of the Zyrians. Makary Glukharev (1792-1849) mastered the language and culture of the nomadic tribes in the Altai Mountains of Central Siberia where he translated the Bible and liturgical books into the Telengut dialect and conducted services in the vernacular. His disciples Landishev and Vladimir continued his mission, converting 25,000 of the 45,000 inhabitants of the Altai region to Christianity.[11] John Veniaminov (Bishop Innocent, 1797-1879), missionary to Alaska, translated and wrote for the native Alaskans (Aleuts, Tlingits, Eskimos). And Nicholas Kassatkin (1836-1912), a Russian missionary to Japan, translated the Bible and church service books into Japanese.

In Orthodox history these various missionaries have been canonized and are not only looked upon as saints, a title not easily won in the Orthodox Church, but also as individuals identified with the nations they evangelized. Thus, the Church speaks of Saints Cyril and Methodios as Apostles to the Slavs, Saint Innocent as Apostle to America, Saint Nicholas (Kassatkin) as Apostle to Japan, Saint Herman of Alaska, etc.

One example of how 'indigenization' occurred as Orthodox missionaries went to different lands is given by the account in Japan of a meeting between the famous nineteenth-century missionary, Archbishop Innocent (John Veniaminov), and Nicholas Kassatkin, a young Russian Orthodox priest who was serving as a chaplain of the Russian consulate in Tokyo at the time. Innocent saw great potential for missionary work among the Japanese and exhorted Kassatkin "to stop reading French and German books" and "to study Japanese diligently" in order to bring Christianity to the people of that country.[12] Kassatkin zealously under-took the challenge and eventually translated the Scriptures and liturgical services into Japanese. Within his lifetime, Kassatkin's Japanese mission had founded an Orthodox seminary for the training of indigenous clergy and catechists, had erected the Orthodox Cathedral of the Resurrection in Tokyo, had won many Japanese to Christianity (35,000 by the end of his life), and had trained converts to work on the translation of church books into Japanese.[13]

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[10] See Francis Dvornik *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970) for a detailed account of this point.

[11] Nicholas Zernov, *Eastern Christendom* (New York, 1961), p. 181.

[12] Paul D. Garrett, *St. Innocent, Apostle to America* (New York, 1979), p. 267.

Ecclesiology

Orthodox perceive their church as "the household of God built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone" (Eph 2:19, 20); as the original eucharistic community of faith instituted by Christ (1 Cor 10:16-27; Jn 6:53-58); as the "one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church" (Nicene Creed); as the church of the seven ecumenical synods (325-787); and as the visible witness on earth of Christ and His Gospel with an unbroken 'sacred tradition' lasting almost 2,000 years in which the Gospel message has been preserved in its pristine state. The Church, Christ's body, has the cosmic mission of the Lord himself "to unite all things in him (Christ), things in heaven, and things on earth" (Eph 1:10). It is all inclusive because in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male or female" (Gal 3:28; Mt 19:13-14; Jas 2:2-7), rich or poor, adult or child. As per 'Ignation theology,' the bishop brings unity to the visible Church in Christ's place. Ignatios, a first-century Church Father, speaks of the "one altar" behind which sits "the one bishop in the place of God," surrounded by the presbyters and deacons in the presence of the people of God (laity), all together symbolizing the unity of the Church.[14] Thus, the place of the bishop in the Church becomes crucial to the maintenance of its unity and for the preservation of the faith. His authority protects the catholicity of the Church, as well, not only in its universal connotation as the body of Christ encompassing all people in all places for all time with the full Gospel, but also in its parochial setting. When the presbyter, acting in the bishop's place, unites the local people of God in the Eucharist, he is expressing the catholicity of the Church parochially. This unity is envisioned as a Christological reality. At the celebration of every eucharistic service, the whole Christ is revealed, as well as "the ultimate eschatological unity of all in Him" which this gathering implies.[15] Orthodox express their unity at every liturgy with the faithful of all generations in a prayer of the liturgy that is read immediately following the consecration:

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[13] S. Bolshakoff, *Orthodox Missions Today* as quoted in C. S. Calian, *Icon and Pulpit* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 54.

[14] See Ignatios of Antioch as quoted by John D. Zizioulas, "The Eucharistic Community and the Catholicity of the Church" in *The New Man* (Standard Press, 1973), pp. 115, 116.

[15] Ibid., p. 120 ff.

> We offer unto Thee this reasonable service for those who have fallen asleep in the faith: forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, ascetics, and every righteous spirit in faith made perfect.[16]

There are obvious implications concerning the importance of apostolic succession in the Orthodox Church's ecclesiology. Since the bishop preserves and perpetuates the faith from one generation to another, Orthodox consider apostolic succession as part of the sacred tradition of the Church's nearly two thousand-year history.

The necessity for a clearly stated ecclesiology as a prerequisite to any type of theology of evangelism or missionary endeavor is expressed as follows by Nikos Nissiotis who compares the Orthodox viewpoint to that of conservative evangelical Protestant theology:

> ...there is a great difference between the Orthodox and the conservative evangelical attitude. This difference consists in that in any kind of evangelistic theology an Orthodox would begin from a sound ecclesiology, that is, from the Church as the focus, means, and sign of the regathering of the whole world into fellowship with God—the historical, visible, and institutional Church, which cannot be separated from the event in Christ. This strong ecclesial basis, which is a *sine qua non* for the Orthdox understanding and practise of evangelism, is lacking...in both the radical (pro-secularist) and the conservative evangelical theology of the non-Orthodox churches (and also in the works of certain radical Roman Catholic theologians)....
> It is not sufficient to preach Christ alone, lest He become the intellectual, monistic principle of an individual faith. Christ must be preached within His historical reality, His body in the Spirit, without which there is neither Christ nor the Gospel. Outside the context of the Church, evangelism remains a humanism or a temporary psychological enthusiasm.[17]

Nissiotis, in discussing contemporary, radical, pro-secularist trends, as well as those of the conservative evangelicals, concludes his observations with this remark: "The purpose of my observations is less to criticize the modern trends in evangelism than to contribute to them the conviction that real evangelism is impossible without an ecclesial basis." [18]

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[16] *The Divine Liturgy*, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, p. 24.

[17] "An Orthodox View of Modern Trends in Evangelism," *The Ecumenical World of Orthodox Civilization*, 3 (1974), pp. 187-91.

[18] Ibid., p. 190.

The Effects of a Living Mission

As with all preachers of the Gospel, the full results of Fr. Papasarantopoulos' missionary efforts in Africa will be known only to the Lord of the Church. Orthodox history teaches that like prayer, the life of "a righteous man has great power in its effect" (Jas 5:16). However, the seemingly humble ministry of this one missionary, advanced in age before he began, has had a direct effect on the Orthodox Church in both Greece and the United States. Shortly after his departure for Africa from Athens, a new missionary movement began in Greece in 1961 called "The Inter-Orthodox Missionary Center" under the aegis of the Pan-Orthodox Youth Movement, Syndesmos. Its stated goals are: (1) revival of the missionary spirit in the Orthodox Church, (2) study of theoretical and practical problems in missionary activity, (3) preparation of workers for Orthodox missons, and support of the Orthodox in East Africa, Alaska, and Korea.[19] A new journal entitled *Porefthendes (Go Ye)*, edited by Anastasios G. Yannoulatos, accompanied this movement. Through the writings and influence of Yannoulatos, now a bishop and professor at the University of Athens, and this new movement, interest in missions has greatly expanded in Greece over the past twenty years. Today there are at least three missionary societies in that country operating out of Athens, Thessalonike, and Patras, all of which publish journals on missions. There were no such official organizations existing in modern Greece prior to Fr. Papasarantopoulos' venture of faith in Africa. It is noteworthy that all developed almost immediately after Fr. Papasarantopoulos' correspondence from the mission field began to ignite the faith of his friends and supporters in Greece.

A similar phenomenon occurred in the United States. Although the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America was founded in 1921,[20] it took until 1964 for its Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress to present its first official report on foreign Orthodox missions.[21] In 1966, when the second such report was presented, part of the terminology used was that coined by Fr. Papasarantopoulos in his correspondence when he urged Orthodox Christians throughout the world to become "senders of missionaries," especially if they could not become missionaries themselves.[22] The Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, originally a mission itself to immigrants of Greece, accepted the challenge of Fr. Papasarantopoulos and in 1967, initiated an annual national Lenten Offering Card project to raise support for foreign missions. The following year Archbishop Iakovos established a Foreign Missions Office in the Archdiocese for the first time with the appointment of a bishop (Silas of Amphipolis) as its head.[23] Interest in missions has expanded since then so that today the Archdiocese supports modest foreign missions in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania, Alaska, Korea, Mexico, and Latin America. Among the factors that have contributed to this progress, one must certainly mention the impact of Fr. Papasarantopoulos' ministry in Africa.

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[19] *Go Ye—Porefthentes*, No. 39-39, Apr.-Sept., 10 (1968), 24.

[20] George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan*, (Minneapolis, 1976), p. 33. This excellent study of the Greek Orthodox Church in America shows the enormous struggles the Church underwent to establish itself in America among the waves of immigrants who arrived from Greece in the first half of the twentieth century. Squabbles over language, politics, authority, schisms, ecclesiastical procedures, ethnicity, etc. created numerous internal problems that literally consumed all the attention and energy of the Church leadership. The fruitful reign of Archbishop Athenagoras (1930-48), who finally brought unity and order to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, was actually a period of evangelism and mission. Athenagoras was establishing Greek Orthodoxy in a unique setting never encountered before by the Church. He was bringing the Gospel to a free country without a state church, already Christianized in large part by Protestants and Catholics, and had the tremendous task of organizing a poor, ill-educated, immigrant population which knew virtually nothing of American culture, custom, language, etc. The success of this mission is attested to today by the fact that sixty years later, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America under Archbishop Iakovos (1959-

A similar influence occurred upon the Russian Orthodox Church when in 1870 the first Orthodox Missionary Society in modern Russia was established in Moscow, following the illustrious ministry to Alaska and the Orient of the Russian missionary John Veniaminov (Bishop Innocent). The metropolitan of Moscow in 1870, under whom the Missionary Society began, was none other than John Veniaminov himself, who had attained this high position in the Russian Church during the final years of his life!

Mission through Personal Sanctity

Whereas Papasarantopoulos' mission of incessant activity and movement represents one type of evangelism common in Orthodox history, there exists another extremely effective kind of mission which is more

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present) enjoys unity, eleven bishops, 425 well-established parishes serving a thriving community of over 2,000,000 Greek Orthodox Christians, a theological school and college, and a synod of bishops guiding the Church through the traditional Orthodox synodal system of administration.

[21] Bishop Athenagoras of Elaias, Dean of the Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School of Brookline during my student days, started an Orthodox Missionary Society in 1956 within the seminary. He also brought foreign students for study at Holy Cross. Our Missionary Society began correspondence with Orthodox missions. These were the seeds planted which blossomed into a fuller national outreach in foreign missions from our Archdiocese during the mid-1960s.

[22] See article "Ierapostelefs" in *The Religious and Ethical Encyclopedia* 6 (Athens, 1965), 763.

[23] Alexander Veronis, "Greek Orthodox Foreign Missions," *The Orthodox Observer*, (September, 1969), 12.

passive and which attracts more people to the Gospel, rather than taking the Gospel to them. This second type of mission follows the biblical teachings of praying without ceasing and letting one's light of faith shine before men (see 1 Thess. 5:17; Mt 5:14-16). Seraphim of Sarov expresses it well when he says, "Acquire inward peace, and thousands around you will find their salvation." [24]

Normally, passive mission means people remain in one place, trying through prayer and a simple, holy life-style to achieve advanced dimensions of discipleship and spirituality. The holy, Christ-centered, Spirit-filled life which results not only attracts the attention of many, but brings observers into an acceptance of the Christian Gospel which they credit for producing such holy people. This is a common phenomenon in Orthodoxy. I shall cite several examples:

Anthony the Great (251-356) is well known as a holy ascetic and hermit. During his long pursuit of God in the Egyptian desert, Anthony attracted multitudes of disciples, who in turn brought thousands to a knowledge and acceptance of the Gospel. Athanasios the Great, the champion of Christ's divinity against Arios at the Ecumenical Synod of Nikaia (325), acknowledged the deep influence of Anthony upon his own spiritual life.[25] Though a contemplative monk, Anthony did not hesitate to temporarily re-enter the secular world, along with his monastic followers, to help defeat the Arian heresy in Alexandria. Anthony's example in living the Gospel continues to highly motivate contemplative monastics.

Seraphim of Sarov (1759-1833) is one of the most revered holy men of modern Russia. Seraphim lived most of his life as an extreme ascetic and contemplative hermit. At one time he stood on a rock for three years praying incessantly day and night. During another period of time he maintained complete silence for thirteen years (1807-20). A monk of the monastery at Sarov for most of his life, Seraphim often remained in a nearby hermitage praying, reading, and working in his garden. He had frequent visions of the Virgin Mary Theotokos, the apostles, and Christ. In 1825, at the age of sixty-six, he finally felt led by God to become a starets (spiritual guide). During his last nine years of life, unending streams of people, sometimes thousands in one day, came to see Seraphim for spiritual guidance, healings, prophecy, and matters related to the Gospel. His influence upon people of all social classes, from the aristocracy to peasants, was immense. Austere with himself, Seraphim manifested astounding love and profound compassion towards others. People saw the radiance and joy of the Holy Spirit in him, a fact not surprising from one who taught that:

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[24] *The Orthodox Way*, p. 118.

[25] See *The Life of Saint Anthony* by St. Athanasios, in the Ancient Christian Writers series (New York, 1950).

> When the Spirit of God descends upon a man and overshadows him with the fulness of his outpouring, then his soul overflows with a joy not to be described, for the Holy Spirit turns to joy whatever he touches.[26]

The numerous healings of the deaf, the blind, the lame, the mentally ill, etc., attributed to Seraphim include his cure of Nicholas Motovilov, who later wrote a book entitled *Conversation of Saint Seraphim on the Aim of Christian Life*, from which comes an often quoted teaching of Seraphim's on the Holy Spirit's centrality in the Christian life:

> Prayer, fasting, vigils, and all other Christian practices, however good they may be in themselves, certainly do not constitute the aim of our Christian life; they are but the indispensable means of attaining that aim. For the true aim of the Christian life is the acquisition of the Holy Spirit of God.[27]

Paissy Velichkovsky (1722-94) was a Russian monk at Mount Athos who went to Roumania in 1763 and who became abbot of a monastery which he developed into a powerful spiritual haven with over five hundred monks. This community devoted itself to translating spiritual writings into Slavonic. Among their works were the first Slavonic edition of the *Philokalia* (1793), a massive anthology of spiritual writings from the fourth to fifteenth centuries mostly on the subject of prayer. Velichkovsky initiated a monastic revival across Roumania and Russia which brought an era of widespread spiritual revival.[28]

Herman of Alaska (1756-1837), a Russian monk, was living in the Russian Valaam Monastery of Finland as a hermit in 1793 when he was selected by his abbot, the Elder Nazary, to go on a mission to Kodiak, Alaska, along with nine other monks. It took this missionary team 293 days of difficult traveling by land and ship over a distance of 7,327 miles to reach their Kodiak mission! Initially, the mission met with success with the conversion of several thousand native Alaskans to Christianity. Harsh conditions in Alaska, plus a fatal shipwreck carrying the mission's new bishop and his co-workers, diminished the mission until only Herman survived. The simple monk Herman, who had a limited education, spent over forty years in Alaska living in his New Valaam Heritage built with his own hands on Spruce Island. His life of holiness, simplicity, teaching, example, and kindness to the native Aleuts won many converts to Christianity. He became a protector of the Aleuts against the cruel exploitation of Russian traders, who treated the native Indians as animals. Along with the Aleuts, Herman, too, suffered persecution and mistreatment. Herman's holiness kept attracting followers not only during his lifetime, but long afterwards. His memory increased with time; and in 1867, Bishop Peter of Sitka began a formal inquiry into the life of Fr. Herman. In 1970, the Orthodox Church formally canonized him as "Saint Herman of Alaska," the first Orthodox saint of the American continent and whose life motto was: "From this day, from this hour, from this minute, let us strive to love God above all else and fulfil his holy will." [29]

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[26] Ibid., p. 118.

[27] *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 131, 235.

[28] Ibid., p. 130.

Canonization, which all three of the above-mentioned 'passive missionaries' received, means that they are considered 'holy' men by the Orthodox Church and worthy of inclusion in the canon (list) of saints. Thus, their names are commemorated formally by the Church in services on certain days. The Orthodox Church does not make saints. It simply recognizes officially as saints certain individuals whom the faithful of the Church already regard as 'holy' men and women of the past. Orthodox ask saints, who now live in the Church triumphant, for their prayers, just as they ask friends of the Church militant to pray on their behalf. Further evidence of the effective witness to the Gospel of the passive missionaries of the Church lies in the very fact of their canonization.

Proselytism

Orthodox believe that they have preserved the Gospel message intact, without deletion or addition from the inception of the Church at Pentecost. When historical circumstances have permitted, as the evidence shows, Orthodox have conducted vigorous missions among non-Christians. Political conditions, on the other hand, created relatively arid periods of missionary activity. Such, for example, were the two and a half centuries (1240-1480) when Russia lived under the Mongol yoke, the eight centuries in which the Ottoman Empire destroyed Byzantium and subjugated the Orthodox Church in the Balkans and the Near East (thirteenth to early twentieth century), and the communist yoke of our own time which controls all the Orthodox nations of Europe except Greece, severely discriminating against religious worship and overtly persecuting Orthodox Christians.

Orthodox resist and find offensive those efforts of other Christian communities who attempt to proselytize Orthodox Christians. Traditionally, Orthodox missions have taken place among non-Christian people of the world, not among Protestant and Catholic believers. That is why missionaries of these latter two traditions are usually strenuously opposed by Orthodox when attempts of 'sheep-stealing' are made from their flocks. The hostility generated over the past five centuries between Orthodox and Roman Catholics over the 'Uniate issue' created by the

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[29] Canonization of Saint Herman of Alaska (Sitka, 1970), pp. 32, 66.

Jesuit proselytization of Orthodox in the then kingdom of Poland through the Council of Brest-Litovsk (1596), offers but one illustration. The Orthodox Church of Greece, too, strongly opposes efforts of evangelical Protestant groups who enter Greece with attempts to evangelize Greek Orthodox Christians with the 'true Gospel' message. On the other hand, the Orthodox bishops welcome non-Orthodox Christian service groups who offer technical assistance to underdeveloped provinces of their dioceses. The Mennonites, who established a model farm in the rural diocese of Kisamou-Selinou of Crete, Greece, in the 1960s (in which they taught advanced agricultural methods to the peasants), were heartily welcomed and supported by Bishop Irenaios of that diocese. These Mennonites left a lasting impression upon the Orthodox of the island through their example of loving service. Orthodox find such missions far more illuminating and helpful than evangelists or missionaries who attempt to change their faith.

"Our presence ought to be positive, not aggressive against others," writes Bishop Yannoulatos. And Fr. Kassatkin, who worked among the non-Christians of Japan, practiced the same irenic approach to missions: "Believe, if you will, without any polemics or critique of the other confessions; and avoid attacks against others, even against Buddhism and Shintoism. Christ himself, the fulness of truth, did not win souls save in peace." [30]

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[30] Anastasios G. Yannoulatos, "Initial Thoughts toward an Orthodox Foreign Mission," *Porefthentes*, Apr.-Sept, 10 (1968), 21.

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other authors, just what were their views on the Scriptures, Tradition, the Fathers (chiefly Basil the Great, part of whose writings had been translated), and Christian life. It is hard to ascertain just how much they were affected by outside influences brought into Russia by merchants of Lutheran persuasion, Jewish traders, or Roman Catholics. Such ideas were current, but not prominent; the sect of the 'Judaizers' was finally destroyed by governmental force, but the next centuries were to see much more powerful outbreaks of heresy and schism. Artemios was not a heretic.

Dr. Schulz has done other work in this field and hopes to bring more of these texts to light. He has had the cooperation of East European and Russian scholars and libraries; but, as he says, "Soviet scholars are primarily interested in the historical aspects of this period, rather than in theological ones, and publication is apt to be delayed. The book is reproduced by photo-offset from typescript and is well done. We should hope that the publishers will be able to do more of such studies.

Stephen H. R. Upson

Orthodox-Unification Dialogue. Ed. C. N. Tsirpanlis. Conference Series No. 8. New York: The Rose of Sharon Press, Inc., 1981. Pp. x + 139. Paper.

The present volume deserves to be brought to the attention of all students of Orthodoxy because it is not likely to be otherwise easily noted. The book itself is the result of two conferences on Orthodox and Unification theology that took place within the same year (1978) at the Unification Theological Seminary in Barrytown, New York, on April 15th and October 14th respectively. The conferences were organized by the indefatigable Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis and had as their central themes: "Man's Nature and Destiny" and "The Concept of Salvation in Orthodox Theology and Unification Thought." Dr. Constantine Cavarnos of Hellenic College and Dr. Sebastian Matczak of St. John's University (New York) delivered papers on "Man's Nature and Destiny: the Orthodox Teaching as Conveyed by Icons and Hymns" (pp. 1-20) and on "Human Nature in the Unification View and in Christian Tradition" (pp. 21-33) respectively at the first conference. At the second conference, Dr. Cavarnos presented "The Orthodox View of Salvation" (pp. 52-65); Dr. Matczak, "The Role of Jesus in Man's Salvation According to Unification Thought and Christian Tradition" (pp. 75-97); Dr. Constantine Tsirpanlis offered "The Blessed Virgin's Place in God's Redemption According to the Church Fathers and Unification Thought" (pp. 98-107); and Franz Feige (Drew University elucidated "Salvation As Restoration in Unification Thought" (pp. 115-23); while Professor James Kleon

Demetrius (Truro College, New York) briefly discussed "The Heroic Code of Homer" (pp. 129-33). Each conference included extensive and lively question-and-answer discussions, and these have been reproduced in the printed volume as faithfully as possible. The avowed intention of the entire effort was to promote interfaith relations generally—"better understanding and a brotherly experience of basic Christian and Unification beliefs" (p. vi).

Of special interest to students of Orthodoxy will be the articles by Constantine Cavarnos and Constantine Tsirpanlis. Both present the Orthodox Christian position on their chosen subjects with vigor and authority. Dr. Cavarnos discusses icons and hymns in terms of theology, anthropology, and angelology, and relates his discussion to the immortality of the soul, its state after death, and the Second Coming. The whole survey is an excellent summary of the Orthodox position which emphasizes that "Both iconography and hymnody seek to help us rise to the spiritual level to attain *theosis* (deification), that is, union with God, becoming partakers of God's glory and blessedness. In general, our transformation into spiritual men, our attainment of *theosis*, is displayed by these arts as being a process that goes through stages" (p. 11). The same author's article on "The Orthodox View of Salvation" beautifully summarizes and illustrates Orthodox soteriology: "In the way of salvation, as it has been described here, man passes from his *fallen* state, which is one of unlikeness to God, to the state of *likeness* to God; from the state of likeness to God, to that of *union with God*, termed *theosis*; and from the state of *theosis*, to that of *salvation*, which is one of everlasting perfect union with God" (p. 64). And Dr. Tsirpanlis on the Blessed Virgin emphasizes that "The election of the Virgin Mary is therefore the culminating point of Israel's progress toward reconciliation with God, but God's final response to this progress and the beginning of new life comes with the Incarnation of the Word, because man's salvation could be realized only by God, His sinless sin" (p. 99). It is in Mary that *theosis* is accomplished for the first time—a divinization that was the consequence of her own "free will and consent to be one with Christ's enhypostasized humanity, on the one hand, and of the grace of the Logos of God, on the other hand" (p. 102). Professor Tsirpanlis also takes the opportunity to discuss the principle of 'indemnity' in *Divine Principle* and compare it to the patristic *anakephalaiosis* (recapitulation). James Kleon Demetrius' short appreciation on Homeric *arete* bears little relation to the main subject of the two conferences, but concludes the Greek Orthodox contributions to the volume.

It is not my purpose to go into the Unification contributions to this volume except to say that the discussions and Dr. Matczak's and Mr. Feige's presentations present quite clear expositions of the basic features of that theology and pursue vigorously those areas where Orthodox Christianity and Unificationism seem to have common ground for discussion and understanding. Dr. Matczak and Dr. Tsirpanlis both bring in frequent comparisons where Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy find common ground and also contrasts where they substantially differ. Basic Christian theological issues are confronted directly and honestly, from the fall of man and the nature of sin to the Incarnation of Christ, the salvation and redemption of man, the kingdom of God, the restoration of fallen human nature and will, the Second Coming, and the meaning of the notion of the Messiah.

Orthodox-Unification Dialogue is very neatly printed, well edited, and well organized for maximum readability and critical study.

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Mystery Religions in the Ancient World. By Joscelyn Godwin. London: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981. Pp. xvi + 176 and 142 plates. £10.00 net in UK only. Paper $8.95.

During the first five centuries A.D., the Mediterranean world was characterized by the presence of a wide variety of exotic cults whose attraction was such that it threatened the very foundations of the established forms of pagan religion. These so-called 'mystery religions' offered their adherents personal contact with their divinities and the promise of happiness after death, while their ancient teachings, rituals, and secret initiations were open to all who wanted to partake of them: Joscelyn Godwin's *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World* is a sweeping survey of the cults of Mithras, Cybele, Isis, Dionysos, Orpheus, Isis and Serapis, and others and includes a discussion of the Judaic, Gnostic, and Christian strains and the worship of the Roman gods and emperors. It is a book for the intelligent, sympathetic general reader, but by no means a book that provides any new material or even new insights into a much studied subject for the specialist. Professor Godwin, who teaches music at Colgate University and is the author of two books on two seventeenth-century universal men, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveyor of Two Worlds* and *Athanasius Kircher: A Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge* (Thames and Hudson, 1979), is currently working on a source-book of writings on *Music, Mysticism and Magic* and is something of a Renaissance man himself.

Mystery Religions in the Ancient World seeks to approach its subject matter seriously, since these were religions that were at one time taken seriously by millions of believers. The author sees these religions as valid for their time and place as attempts to help people along their way to the true goal of human existence. It is the hope of the author that the reader will try to put one's self in the position of such an adherent in order to

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REVIEWS

Patriarch Photios of Constantinople: His Life, Scholarly Contributions, and Correspondence Together with a Translation of Fifty-Two of His Letters. By Despina Stratoudaki White. The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources No. 5. Foreword by N.M. Vaporis, General Editor. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1981. Pp. 234. Hardcover $14.95. Paperback $9.95.

Patriarch Photios was a remarkable Byzantine churchman and intellectual who twice served as Patriarch of Constantinople: (1) from 858 to 867 and (2) from 877 to 886. Despina White says of him that "He was an intimate of the powerful, a courtier, an intellectual, an encyclopedist, a teacher, and a voracious student of anything that books could offer. At the same time he was a strong upholder of Orthodoxy, the savior of Constantinople, the father of his flock, and the spiritual adviser of kings. In his writings and activities Photios embodied the intellectual pattern which represented the Byzantine spirit in subsequent centuries" (p. 15). The present study of Saint Photios, completed before the publication of Father Asterios Gerostergios' recent book *St. Photios the Great** (Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1980), supplements that book by presenting the reader with fifty-two translated letters of this outstanding figure that "offer us perhaps the best opportunity to know the man and his times. The present translation of his letters should enhance other works already in process or completed on Photios and should provide scholars with a tool to aid in research on Photios and the period in which he lived" (pp. 61-62).

Though Photios' scholarly reputation is based primarily on his *Bibliotheca* (a collection of critiques and extracts from 280 works of various authors from antiquity to his day), he was one of the most prolific writiers of the ninth century. He wrote many letters, of which two hundred and seventy-three have been collected and published. These letters deal with dogmatic, legal, and political questions and include personal correspondence addressed to friends and relatives who needed help of various kinds. Photios provides advice and spiritual reinforcement to them during periods of personal loss and other tragic circumstances. Dr. White divides the content of the letters that she presents into three principal categories: (1) advisory (i.e., admonitory), (2) exegetical, and (3) panegyrical. She deals in detail with the nature of the content, and the openings and closings of the letters. Through his letters Photios' immense knowledge and his theological perspective become readily apparent. The author summarizes her observations about Photios' epistolography in the following way:

> Patriarch Photios of Constantinople was one of the most, if not the most, highly cultivated writers of the ninth century. His extensive knowledge in secular, as well as in theological literature, is evidenced by his numerous references to the various authors and sources of all ages. In his letters he also demonstrates his knowledge of rhetorical and epistolary rules, adding his practical and personal touch, which he acquired throughout his long and interesting life. He uses and mixes all of these ingredients with mastery and ease. His letters are not stereotyped formulae. While some follow the rules of epistolography, others have varied form, enlivened by his personal touch, which has, indeed, produced some of the masterpieces of the world's literature (p. 97).

In her notes on the letters Dr. White also comments on the profound scholarship of Photios, on his frequent use of classical allusions and echoes of ancient literature by which his reading of Homer, Sophocles, Plato, and Aristotle flows right into the Christian concepts that command the center of his attention.

Despina Stratoudaki White has organized her book into four concise chapters that include "The Life of Patriarch Photios"; "Photios' Scholarly Contributions"; "The Letters of Photios"; "Notes on the Fifty-Two Letters" and a fifth chapter that consists of the fifty-two letters themselves. Each chapter is followed by extensive notes. The bibliography of primary and secondary sources will be a valuable one for scholars.

It is certainly true to say, as Despina White does say, that "Photios could very well be called the first Christian humanist. For Photios, with all his love and knowledge of the classics, was basically a Christian and used the Hellenic and Hellenistic inheritance for the understanding of Christian ideas" (pp. 60-61).

Together with *The Patriarch and the Prince: The Letter of Patriarch Photios of Constantinople to Khan Boris of Bulgaria* (Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982) by Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr. and Asterios Gerostergios' *St. Photios the Great, Patriarch Photios of Constantinople* will provide substantial material based on original scholarship and research that will give us a much better understanding of Photios the man, his work, and his times.

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* Reviewed in *GOTR*, XXV, 2, Fall 1980, pp. 331-32.

'Επετηρίς 'Εστίας Θεολόγων Χάλκης. [Annual of the Hearth of the Theologians of Chalke]. Athens, 1980. Pp. 383. Illustrations. Paper.

This volume is edited by the Chalke Alumni Association of Athens. The writers, around forty in number, have graduated from, or have studied at, the Patriarchal Theological School of Chalke.

All the studies included in this volume are directly, or indirectly, related to the school, its history, personalities, and spirit. Some of them constitute academic contribution, or special chapter related to the history of the school.

Several authors express their hope for the reopening of the school, while others offer practical solutions for the realization of this hope.

The contents are as follows: "Prologue" (7-9); "Epilogue" (379-80), by the Committee of the Chalke Alumni Association in Athens; A.B., "Sigillia of the Ecumenical Patriarch Germanos IV" (13-20); Aristoteles Konstantinides, "The Chronicle of the Establishment of the Association" (21-22); "The Founding Members" (23); Aristeides Pasadeos, "The Buildings of the Theological School of Chalke" (25-34); Vasil T. Istavrides, "The Theological School of Chalke, a Brief Account" (35-49); Chrysostomos Metropolitan of Peristerion, "The Ecumenical Spirit of the Theo-

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RUDI PAUL LINDNER

STIMULUS AND JUSTIFICATION IN EARLY OTTOMAN HISTORY

Any student of the complex of relationships that opposed Byzantines to Muslims must come to grips with the rise of the Ottomans. Even the most cursory reading of scholarly literature on the Ottomans leads to the feeling that they have a special claim on our attention. Unlike Byzantium's conflicts and compromises with the Caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad, or with the cosmopolitan Seljuks, or with the Fatimids of Cairo, her Anatolian concerns in her declining years were heightened by the Ottomans' devotion to the Holy War (ghaza or jihad). This is not to deny that the Umayyads, Abbasids, Seljuks and Fatimids made war against the Constantinopolitan rulers. The history, however, of the ties between these Muslim governments and Byzantium does not rest upon an ideological or emotional commitment that refracts everything through a lens of religious polarization. It is a special feature of the existing works on the Ottomans that the threads of their history are gathered, knotted and woven in a loom powered by the ghaza. Thus, the most recent book-length treatment of the early Ottoman period bears the subtitle *Empire of the Ghazis*, that is, empire of the holy warriors striving to spread the true faith.[1] This historiographical legacy is largely the work of an extraordinary scholar, the late Professor Paul Wittek. In a long career marked by brilliant contributions to textual studies, epigraphy and field work, diplomatic and ancillary disciplines, Wittek provided a framework for Ottoman history that attracted the admiration and imitation of numerous scholars; he defined the view of Ottoman history that we all share, and share with our students as well. Given the confusing, disparate and poorly-known source materials available when

Wittek began his studies, his synthesis was a heroic achievement, its long and successful career a true measure of his stature and acuity.

However, two generations have passed, and with their passing have come new evidence, better understanding of the older evidence, and the solutions to many formerly nagging problems in the history of late medieval Anatolia. It is now legitimate to ask whether Wittek's synthesis can bear the added weight of these developments in scholarship. Is it still possible to assume that the primary motivation for the Ottomans' actions, and the most obvious explanation for their striking success, was zeal for the Holy War? The purpose of this article is to examine that assumption; my conclusion will be that zeal for the Holy War had nothing to do with causing the rise of the first Ottomans. Our examination of the ghaza theory will proceed along two lines: first, we shall look at Wittek's own formulation of his views and see what a study of his language reveals, and then we shall look at the evidence which bears on the theory.

In a series of short, pithy works which appeared during the 1930s, Wittek made his claims in forceful fashion: "From the first appearance of the Ottomans, the principal factor in this political tradition was the struggle against their Christian neighbors..."[2] the ghazi ideal was a "motive force" leading to an Ottoman success that was "only a necessary consequence and a question of time."[3] Deviation from this ideal spelled sure, predestined disaster: "It is very characteristic that the accomplishment of the final breakdown was closely preceded by the loss of nearly all the European possessions consequent on the defeat in the Balkan War. This defeat obliged the Ottomans to resign definitely and for ever any ambition of ruling over Christian countries, and this meant not less than the renunciation of their dominant idea, of the *raison d'être* of their state. Thus the defeat in the Balkan War was a blow to the heart of the Ottoman Empire, and the dissolution brought about a few years later by the Great War was only a necessary consequence. This renunciation could not have expressed itself more clearly than by the alliance which united the Ottomans during the Great War with their sworn enemy, the Habsburg monarchy. By this alliance, both the empires of Austria and Turkey broke with their most essential traditions and thus showed that they had outlived themselves. It is not surprising that both empires failed the test of the Great War and disappeared forever."[4]

Before looking at the evidence for these statements, let us dwell for a minute on the implications contained in their wording. First, Wittek asserts that ideas may serve as dynamic, causative forces in history; indeed, they may be decisive, with events in the physical world following as a "necessary consequence...." Not only does the presence of an idea confine men's deeds within strictly determined limits; the absence of that idea will, also as a "necessary consequence," bring inevitable disaster. Adherence to the idea is a 'test'; defection from the ranks of the believers is only a proof that the defectors have "outlived themselves." This predominance of ideas among Wittek's assumptions about historical causation enables us to place him among the believers in *Geistesgeschichte* during the inter-war period, scholars who reacted to materialist or positivist philosophies of history with a heightened appreciation for the impulses of ideas and grand emotions. But while this scholarship produced many enduring classics, we must ask whether such a feeling for the force and appeal of ideas in history would impel Turkish nomads to the extent that it captivated twentieth century intellectuals. Wittek never raised this question; he obvioursly assumed a positive response and wrote accordingly. My own suspicion is that he overstated his case.

In light of the obvious strength of Wittek's convictions about the ghaza, we owe him an examination of the evidence which he adduced for his thesis. Wittek's proof that zeal for the Holy War motivated the early Ottomans was two-fold: first, the early Turkish chronicler Ahmedi, who wrote at the beginning of the fifteenth century, praised the ghazi character of the Ottoman enterprise and framed his brief treatment of the careers of the Sultans in terms of their excellence as ghazis. Ahmedi's text, the earliest Ottoman chronicle, seemed to Wittek excellent proof of the true character of Ottoman history. But this was not Wittek's best evidence. There was a much earlier text at his disposal, an inscription of the year 1337 which is now in the citadel of Bursa. The relevant section of the inscription reads: "...the great and magnificent emir, the warrior of the Holy War...Sultan of the ghazis, ghazi son of ghazi, hero of the world and of the faith...Orhan son of Osman."[5] The Bursa inscription demonstrates, clearly and without any doubts, that the vocabulary of the Holy War was current at the early Ottoman court and that scholars who prepared the propaganda adorning the façades of religious structures saw their patrons as ghazis. My question is whether we are therefore justified in taking the next small step and concluding that religious zeal constituted the primary force in early Ottoman history.[6]

I am not the first to ask this question; other scholars have also raised doubts. Already in 1943, Fuat Köprülü, the creator of modern historical studies in Turkey, pointed out that a monocausal, ideological interpretation of early Ottoman history distorted and demeaned a complex process; Köprülü also demonstrated that Wittek had in fact misstated some of Köprülü's own ideas in order to criticize them more sharply.[7] Köprülü's comments were echoed by the late Turkish economic historian Ömer Lütfi Barkan, who denied the importance of the ghazi ideology in the formation of Ottoman history and pointed out the persistent use of non-Muslim names by famous early Ottomans, a custom whose implications seem at variance with Wittek's theories.[8] A wholly independent criticism came in 1947 from the pen of the late Professor George Arnakis. Arnakis suggested that there was no evidence of an early Ottoman desire to impose the Muslim faith or to vanquish Christianity. Ahmedi's fine words, in his view, reflected a poet's simple desire to understand an earlier past in appropriately Muslim terms. In addition, Arnakis was able to show that some of Wittek's own assertions about Ottoman society clashed with that scholar's insistence upon the strength and force of a 'ghazi spirit.' These contradictions vitiated for Arnakis the power of Wittek's thesis.[9] A few years later, Professor Halil Inalcik, the dean of modern Ottoman historians, published evidence that forced conversion had no role in early Ottoman policy. Drawing upon Greek evidence as well as the late fifteenth century chronicles of Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, Professor Inalcik was able to find examples of Byzantine-Ottoman cooperation during the era which ended in the writing of the Bursa inscription.[10] Last, the Hungarian Turcologist Gyula Kaldy-Nagy has recently criticized Wittek's views on the power of the idea of the Holy War: he reminds us once again of the Ottoman penchant for non-Muslim personal names and suggests that chroniclers such as Ahmedi redefined earlier events in Muslim terms. He also points out that the Arab traveler Ibn Battuta, who passed through Ottoman lands six years before the production of the Bursa inscription, made no mention of Muslim schools, even though "the traveler generally remarked on anything related to Islam." Finally, and perhaps most telling, he finds that evidence is weak for zealous Ottoman religiosity and a blind opposition to Christians. On these terms, the Wittek thesis appears strained.[11]

My own procedure for assessing the role of an ideology or of a certain 'spirit' in Ottoman history is to distinguish first between two distinct possibilities.[12] When we come upon a claim that an ideology was important or influenctial, we must whether the claim is for ideology as stimulus or as justification. Are we dealing with a 'spirit' or a set of ideas as the root cause of human acts, that is, as the stimulus for the rise of the Ottomans, or are we speaking of the propagandistic, after the fact use of these ideas to place the past in the most attractive possible light? At this point the reader may object that I am creating a false dichotomy. Instead of forcing a choice between polar opposites, can we not imagine a continuum of possibilities blending various proportions of these two elements? While this is certainly a wise counsel in resolving many questions, I believe that the nature of our present topic precludes it. The nature of the term makes such qualifications as 'slightly zealous' or 'modest zeal' a mockery. Religious zeal by definition cannot coexist with tolerance and latitudinarian beliefs. The 'ghazi spirit' cannot have lasted long as a stimulus for Ottoman success if it had to work in tandem with cosmopolitanism and tolerance. The concept of religious zeal does not lend itself to mildness or dilution. Either it existed in fact (stimulus) or in refurbished memory (justification).

A grasp of this crucial distinction, heretofore absent in discussions of the rise of the Ottomans, recasts our understanding of the historical implications of the 1337 Bursa inscription. The inscription by itself, or in combination with other fourteenth century ghazi inscriptions from neighboring emirates, does not help us to decide between these two possibilities.[13] An interesting article by Richard Ettinghausen, who emphasized the difference between the ideological content of a building's inscription and the actual behavior of the men who funded the erection of the structure, should give us pause before we make a judgment about the true import of the Bursa inscription.[14] We know from an Arabic chronicle and from biographies of religious figures who served the Ottomans that it was during Orhan's reign that religious scholars began to settle the Ottoman domains in numbers. Those years were increasingly insecure ones in central and eastern Anatolia, as Mongol authority decayed. Many emigré scholars found refuge and patronage inside the Ottoman towns, and it is only fitting that they would repay their patrons by recasting their history within an orthodox Muslim framework.[15] The Bursa inscription is clearly important; but, given our distinction between stimulus and justification and the fact that the inscription itself does not help us choose one or the other interpretation, we might equally well opt for a justificatory role for the ghazi vocabulary. We can claim that the inscription reveals a new phase, or rather the first phase, of early Ottoman intellectual and cultural history, not the true underpinnings of the Ottoman enterprise. The Bursa inscription may be necessary evidence, but it is not sufficient.

My first remark about method calls attention to the problem of deciding whether the ghazi ideology was the stimulus of early Ottoman actions or merely their later justification. I can now suggest a procedure for resolving the problem. Let me begin with an example. In the Phrygian highlands, some nine hours on horseback southeast of Dorylaion/Eskişehir, a full day's ride from the northwest edge of the Anatolian plateau, stands the ancient site of Nakoleia. It is now known as Seyit Ghazi, after a building complex above the town devoted to the memory of Sayyid Battal, an Arab warrior who died in battle against the Byzantines before Akroinos/Afyon Kara Hisar in 740. The complex at Nakoleia includes a tomb of Sayyid Battal, a mosque, caravansaray, and (a later addition) a Bektashi dervish convent.[16] A late twelfth-century Arab traveler, al-Harawi, informs us briefly that the tomb of Battal was on the crest of a hill on the Seljuk frontier, and it is likely that he had in mind the site at Nakoleia.[17] Wittek held that the Seyit Ghazi complex, erected in 1207-08, constituted a ghazi shrine, that is, a gathering place for ghazis to venerate their predecessor and renew their resolve to prosecute the Holy War.[18] The text of al-Harawi has also been taken to "demonstrate quite clearly the ghazi mentality and spirit that prevailed among the Turkmen tribes."[19]

Al-Harawi presents another problematical and very brief text, from which we are to derive the prevalence of the 'ghazi mentality' on the edge of the plateau. Here is the argument: since a grave held to be that of Sayyid Battal was located southeast of the frontier, and since there were pastoralists as well as villagers in the area, it follows that there was a cult, perhaps even a nomads' cult, of Battal centered there. Such a cult of a hero who died fighting against the Byzantines implies the parallel existence of a zeal for the Holy War. While these may be harmless conclusions to erect upon the text of al-Harawi, there remains other evidence which must be balanced against the short notice of the Arab traveler.

The early buildings at Seyit Ghazi are the work of the Seljuk Sultan Keyhusrev I, a man with a checkered past. Keyhusrev spent the years from 1200 to 1204 as a refugee at the Byzantine court in Constantinople; there is even a tradition that he was baptized there. He married the daughter of a powerful noble, Manuel Maurozomes, and, after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Maurozomes helped Keyhusrev to contact his supporters and to reclaim his throne in Konya from his nephew, Kılıc Arslan III, a minor. In return, Keyhusrev awarded Maurozomes with honors and offices. Far from being welcomed as a ghazi or a devotée of the Holy War, Keyhusrev was soundly criticized by a Muslim scholar, Kadi Tirmidhi, for his friendship with the Christians. Keyhusrev's response was not to mend his ways, but to kill his Muslim critic.[20] So the builder of the complex at Seyit Ghazi was himself no ghazi. What did he have in mind when he constructed the buildings? One indication comes from his construction of a caravansaray, Deve Han, alongside the mosque.[21] Nakoleia lay on the trade route between Constantinople and Konya, and was a natural halting point one day's march from the edge of the plateau, just as it had been in ancient times. Neither real nor imaginary ghazis prevented merchants from linking Constantinople with the Seljuk capital at Konya, and merchants from Konya were frequenting Constantinople while Keyhusrev was in exile.[22] It is, I suggest, best to view the rise of Seyit Ghazi as a reflection of these facts, as a testament to the thirteenth-century growth of trade between Muslim and Christian in west Anatolia and to the desire of a cosmopolitan Sultan to foster that trade. One does not simultaneously erect a monument to Muslim-Christian confrontation and, on the same spot, facilities to support Muslim-Christian trade. To explain the appearance of one of Battal's graves so many miles from the fortress before which he fell, let me quote the conclusion of an earlier, conscientious student of Anatolian religion, Hasluck: "To the simple and devout peasant any chance combination of circumstances may give a religious color to a commonplace discovery, and anything remotely resembling a tomb presupposes a buried saint. It remains for the learned to give the saint a name and a historical setting."[23] Hasluck's observation helps us understand how Sayyid Battal, who died before Akroinos, came to be interred above Nakoleia. Whatever site existed on the spot when the Turks arrived soon came to be invested with power and sanctity and was associated with a figure of lore who had died somewhere in the general vicinity; the fact that there were other graves of Sayyid Battal elsewhere in Anatolia only demonstrates the generality of this phenomenon, and not the ghaza spirit on the borders of Phrygia. In short, the site at Seyit Ghazi is evidence for later justification, not prior stimulus.

Another way to test Wittek's thesis is to examine the deeds of the early Ottomans to see if they were motivated by a zeal for the Holy War. My own feeling is that their actions reflect very little religious concern. At the crudest and most obvious level, the Ottoman conquests were performed as much at the expense of Muslim as of Christian powers. Indeed, the very first Ottoman conquest, the reduction of the outcropping known as Karacahisar a few kilometers southwest of Dorylaion/Eskişehir, involved conflict with fellow Muslims. They acquired the land by wresting it from the Muslim emirs of Germiyan.[24]

It must also be recalled that Christians played a significant role in early Ottoman governance. These men seem to have been under no special pressure to convert; in fact on several occasions the Ottoman sources inadvertently, but tellingly, call these Christians ghazis.[25]

Third, evidence abounds of friendly relations linking the Ottomans and Christians: Osman supported Christians who brought their wares to market in Eskişehir, and he gave them justice when Muslims attempted to cheat them.[26] In addition, Osman opposed those members of his family who preferred predation to coexistence with the villages and peasants of Bithynia.[27] Not only Osman but also his fellow tribesmen attempted to treat the Christians well in order to preserve prosperity and loyalty in their lands. These policies were obviously successful, for certain Christians preferred Ottoman to Byzantine rule.[28] These instances, recorded in the Ottoman chronicles, offer an impressive counterweight to the fifteenth-century court views that Wittek found in Ahmedi. Further, these remarks in the chronicles gain additional respect because their authors had no reason to invent them. Accounts of events which did not support the prevailing view of Ottoman history at the late-fifteenth-century court deserve the modern historian's credence because they were obviously not devised to please a patron. It is in my view decisive that the major fund of examples of friendly Byzantine-Ottoman relations is the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade: for he derived these accounts from the relation of Yahşi Fakih, which contains a large body of material stemming from mid-fourteenth-century Bithynia.[29] These passages, passed on by Aşıkpaşazade, also counter the impression given by the Bursa inscription.

How, then, are we to deal with Ahmedi, who might also have been aware of fourteenth-century traditions but whose work on the Ottomans is nonetheless suffused with ghazi phraseology? Recent scholarship has given us a clearer view of Ahmedi's work than was available a generation ago. We now see that Ahmedi's panegyric purpose overwhelmed any intent he might have had to compose a true chronicle. His concern for philosophical reflections and poetics allowed him to manipulate events and even to omit famous events that could have strengthened his analysis. For example, he fails to mention the Ottoman victory at Nikopolis in 1396. Ahmedi's work is didactic first and foremost, a commentary on selected historical events but never a historical commentary.[30]

The research of Professors V.L. Ménage and Halil Inalcik has also demonstrated that Ahmedi's source, which does not survive, appears in greater detail in the later chronicles of Şükrullah, the Oxford Anonymous History (Bodleian MS Marsh 313), and Ruhi.[31] In that the later chroniclers did not share Ahmedi's emphasis on the virtue and necessity of the Holy War, we may conclude that Ahmedi's remarks reflect his own, rather than his source's assumptions. It is not difficult to understand why Ahmedi wished to make the Ottomans over into single-minded ghazis. Ahmedi himself had entered Ottoman service after a life of service to emirs competing with the Ottomans (Germiyan, Aydın). Flattering his new patrons was a necessity. Further, the forces of Timur had just defeated the Ottomans and undone Bayezid I's conquests among the Anatolian Muslim emirates. Portraying the Ottomans as Holy Warriors was a first step in reviving the image of the Ottomans as champions of Islam against Christian lands and erasing the memory of their earlier aggression against their Muslim neighbors. In this sense Ahmedi's remarks tell us much about the Ottoman court and its panegyrists in the wake of Timur's invasion; they are not, however, necessarily a reliable source for early Ottoman history.

What happens when we turn away from the Turkish sources for this period? There are numerous authors whose works we can examine: the Byzantine chroniclers George Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras, John Kantakouzenos, as well as the numerous contemporary chronological lists known as the Short Chronicles. We might also examine the relation of the Arab traveler Ibn Battuta, who passed through Bithynia in 1331, or the geographical treatise of al-Umari, who used two independent sources for his remarks about the state of the Ottomans in the 1320s and 1330s. None of these authors calls the Ottomans ghazis or emphasizes their deeds as warriors of the faith. The agreement of the Byzantine and Arab sources in this regard is in my view impressive.

Perhaps the most telling point against Professor Wittek's thesis is an anthropological one. His analysis presupposes that the warriors for Islam were, if not good Muslims, at least respecful Muslims. But if many of the early Ottoman were zealous defenders of the faith, it was a faith whose obligations they were willing to evade. Some of the ghazis, as Professor Vyronis has brilliantly established, practiced ritual human sacrifice, an act which not even popular, so-called 'folk' Islam countenanced.[32] We read that the grave of Osman's nephew harbored powers capable of curing human fevers and equine colic.[33] Not to be outdone, one of Osman's brothers performed an extraordinary posthumous deed: a pine tree grew on the spot where he expired, and a flame danced on the tree top when conditions were propitious.[34] This is evidence for symbiosis, latitudinarianism, and syncretism, not for single-minded Muslim zeal. I leave aside the interesting possibility that Osman and his comrades were holy warriors in another just cause, that of shamanism.[35]

These considerations lead me to conclude that a 'ghazi spirit' did not cause the rise of the Ottomans, nor did it permeate their society. If the criterion of historical deeds is a test, we may conclude that this ideology of the Holy War was a later justification, a historiographical charter, and not the prior stimulus in Ottoman history. But if Professor Wittek gave undue emphasis to the ghaza as an analytic tool, he established a particularly sound framework for viewing the early Ottomans in Bithynia. He has not received sufficient credit for this discovery which had implications for anthropological as well as historical studies. Wittek's earliest published work[36] demonstrated that the Ottoman genealogies, which were in agreement for the generations just before Osman and also just after the much earlier foundation of the family by its apical ancestor, were hopelessly confused about the true course of the intervening generations. Wittek concluded that since the Ottoman tribal genealogy was so imprecise and befuddled between the foundation period and the late thirteenth century, the Ottomans could not have had a tribal past – for what is a tribe without an accurate genealogy? What Wittek did not know – what Wittek could not have known (unless he had studied Robertson Smith's work on the bedouin) – was that exactly such genealogies, confused in the middle and precise at both end points, are the characteristic hallmark of tribes.[37] Although contemporary ethnography did not allow Wittek to grasp its full implications, he had made a profound discovery. He established beyond doubt that the genealogical charter was not simply a product of tribal reactions to the colonial present: it was also evident in the historical record of tribes. That Wittek associated tribalism with actual proven genealogical links, and that such a view did not fit the evidence unearthed later, in no way can these caveats lessen his accomplishment. In fact, a tribal perspective, such as Wittek unwittingly revealed, is the most appropriate way of looking at early Ottoman history; and it is a great shame that here, as in so many areas, historians do not read anthropologists. For nomads such as the early Ottomans, tribal organization was the most natural structure to adopt, since the tribe was merely the political expression of a pastoral nomadic existence. Fuzzy genealogies allow recruitment of all those who share the tribe's interest in predation, or defense against outside threats, or in making the best allocation of resources for exploitation by peasants and pastoralists. A different language or religion is, in tribal societies, no hindrance to membership.[38] Osman's first success as a chief was due to his ability to protect the common interests of his tribesmen: pasture, hunting, survival. His authority, and the number of his tribesmen, grew because he served as a fulcrum between tribal and external interests, between his tribesmen and their former Byzantine or Mongol masters. He gained new tribesmen as he demonstrated success against such external threats as Byzantine tax-collectors and Germiyanid forays. Thus his tribesmen came to include nomads and non-nomads, Turks and Greeks.[39]

A tribe, however, is a relatively simple structure, and as the Ottomans grew in success and became ex-nomads their society began to change. The arrival of the Muslim scholars, for which the 1337 inscription is evidence, shows us one aspect of this change. Other changes include the minting of coins, the adoption of siege technology in warfare, the growth of market institutions, and the formation of a large infantry corps.[40] To fulfill the requirements of a larger, more complex political order such as Orhan inherited, tribalism was no longer suitable. It took, however, a full generation to develop the more sophisticated institutions to replace the tribe as the model of Ottoman society. This transformation was probably completed only after the Ottomans felt fully able to dispense with mounted nomadic warfare and became willing to develop a military force specialized in the new technologies then sweeping the Mediterranean. I am, of course, referring to the growth of the Janissaries and the imposition of the devshirme, probably in the early years of the reign of Murad I. Early Ottoman tribalism, thus, lasted for no more than a century, but it gave birth to the cosmopolitanism which always marked the Ottoman enterprise. It is no surprise that a scholar who appreciated the virtues of the Habsburgs discovered evidence for open enrollment in the Ottoman tribe.[41]

It is now time to summarize the results of our inquiry. Whereas Professor Wittek held that the Bursa inscription proved that the ghaza inflamed the Ottomans, there is considerable evidence, in my view, indicating that the inscription is an *ex post facto* justification or beautification of the Ottomans' rough and ready past. Where Wittek found supporting evidence in the work of Ahmedi, we have seen panegyric and eulogy. As we moved from the argument made by Wittek, an examination of the early Ottomans' historical deeds revealed to us episodes which could not fit the mold of an animating Holy War: warfare with neighboring Muslim powers, Christian advisors and even Christian ghazis among the supporters of Osman and Orhan, friendly economic and social relations with some of the Christian peasantry, the lack of ghazi terminology in contemporary Byzantine sources, and, finally, a peculiar lack of concern for the tenets and implications of the true faith in actual practice. These considerations have caused me to diverge from the model which Wittek first proposed, a paradigm which has served us so well as an organizing principle for so long. Although I believe that the accumulation of evidence in recent years must cause us to reconsider the utility of that paradigm, I have also indicated that Wittek's research on the Ottoman genealogies offers us a fruitful point of departure toward a new synthesis, a tribal view which will owe as much to Paul Wittek's inspiration as did the ghaza thesis.

Let me close with one last puzzle for those of you reluctant to abandon the emphasis on a 'ghazi spirit.' The Ottomans were not the only ghazis – in particular, two centuries before, the Danishmendid dynasty also displayed the vigor of the 'ghazi spirit'; indeed, the Danishmendids were much more classic ghazis than their rivals, the Seljuks.[42] Danishmendid coinage even proclaims its mint-masters as ghazis. Let us agree, then, for a moment that the Danishmendids were "the leading family amongst the Ghazis."[43] This assertion, however, immediately leads to trouble. If the ghazi spirit was so powerful among the Danishmendids and Ottomans, why did this same zeal for the Holy War lead the Ottomans to success, while the Danishmendids were somehow unable to defeat their enemies and even disappeared from power and influence in Anatolia after less than a century? If the 'ghazi spirit' is to be the motive force that we have taken it to be, how could it lead to such discordant results? Only, I conclude, if it was *not* a motive force.

NOTES

I wish to thank the Conference sponsors, Fr. N. Michael Vaporis and Professor John Rosser, for inviting me to take part in the conference. When illness prevented me from attending, Professor Clive Foss kindly agreed to present my paper, and I am grateful to him and to other conference participants for acute and helpful comments. I would also like to thank my colleague, Professor James Vann, for some useful suggestions. I first ventured the conclusions of this essay in a lecture before the meeting of the American Oriental Society at Santa Barbara in 1973, and I would also like to thank the audience at Santa Barbara for some stimulating questions. Over a number of years I was the lucky beneficiary of generous, gentle, and kind support from a great and good man, Professor Paul J. Alexander. I offer this paper in affectionate memory of his friendship and teaching.

1. S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1: Empire of the Ghazis* (Cambridge, 1976).

2. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 23 (London, 1938) 2.

3. *Rise*, p. 4.

4. *Rise*, p. 3.

5. *Rise*, pp. 14-15; the best and most recent publication is by Robert Mantran, "Les inscriptions arabes de Brousse," *Bulletin d'études orientales* (Damascus, Institut français) 14 (1952-54) 98.

6. See the summary remarks by Gyula Kaldy-Nagy in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-1980) 469; also S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1971), p. 171: "In addition, Anatolia was now the scene of the djihad, and many of the Turks were imbued with the ghazi mentality which called for the destruction of the enemies of the faith."

7. Fuat Köprülü, "Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nun etnik menşei meselesi," *Belleten* 7:28 (1943) 285-86, 297-300, 303. I believe that Wittek's simplification of Köprülü's ideas was an innocent slip which occurred in the course of preparing the lectures from which his more general works were published. The lecture format does not allow for a lengthy review of prior work and its content.

8. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler," *Iktisat fakultesi mecmuası* 11 (1949-1950) 539-40.

9. George G. Arnakis, *Οἱ Πρῶτοι 'Οθωμανοί*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 41 (Athens, 1947) 33.

10. Halil Inalcik, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, 1 (Ankara, 1954) 141-43. It is worth noting that the passage in Neşri about the Christian allies of Samsa Çavuş (Codex Menzel, p. 28) is not in Aşıkpaşazade

or the Anonymous Chronicles; it stems therefore from Neşri's use of older Bursan traditions and deserves credence. The other Neşri passages cited by Inalcik appear in Aşıkpaşazade and derive from his fourteenth-century source.

11. Gyula Kaldy-Nagy, "The Holy War (jihad) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-1980) 467-73.

12. Here it is also appropriate for me to make the explicit statement that my purpose is to offer an alternative perspective on the early Ottomans, not to defame the memory of Professor Wittek. I can only glean in a field where Paul Wittek reaped golden harvests; I differ from him because I have had the opportunity to benefit from the new shoots of scholarship which have sprouted along the path Wittek laid down a generation ago.

13. A sampling may be found in Rudolf M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 102-03, 105-06, 109-10.

14. Richard Ettinghausen, "Arabic Epigraphy: Communication or Symbolic Affirmation," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History, Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974), pp. 297-317.

15. See Franz Taeschner's remarks in *Der Islam* 20 (1932), 114-15; also Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Le règne de Selim Ier: tournant dans la vie politique et réligieuse de l'empire ottoman," *Turcica* 6 (1975) 36-37.

16. Karl Wulzinger, *Drei Bektaschi-Kloster Phrygiens*, Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft, 21 (Berlin, 1913); Wulzinger's reconstruction is corrected by Kurt Erdmann, "Die 'Grabkirche' von Seyitgazi," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958) 11-16; C.H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 1 (Princeton, 1971), pp. 258-64.

17. al-Harawi, *Guide des lieux de pélérinage*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1953), p. 58, 1.9.

18. Paul Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbuler Forschungen, 2 (Istanbul, 1934), p. 8; Wittek, "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie," *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 30.

19. Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 193, and similarly, p. 171, n. 216, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975) 49.

20. General guides to these events are: Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), pp. 115-16, and in greater detail Osman Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye* (Istanbul, 1971), pp. 272-73; Wittek, "Toponymie," pp. 23-31, although his remarks about the role of the Danishmendid cadets need correction, cf. art. "Karasi" in the revised edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Ibn Bibi, ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan S. Erzi (Ankara, 1957), p.

136, on Kadi Tirmidhi; Aksarayi, ed. O. Turan (Ankara, 1944), p. 32; Niketas Choniates, ed. van Dieten, p. 626; Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 1, p. 14, 1.14, for the reported baptism. For an example of Keyhusrev's concern for Christian farmers in 1197, see Niketas Choniates, p. 495, commented on by Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 184. Both mother and wife of Keyhusrev I were Christians.

21. Kurt Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbuler Forschungen 21:1 (Berlin, 1961), pp. 151-52.

22. Niketas Choniates, pp. 493-94.

23. F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 (Oxford, 1929), p. 716. The dervishes at Seyit Ghazi preserved an interesting tradition that Battal had advised his sons to give up dreams of heroism and bravery, and instead devote themselves to good deeds and the succor of the poor. Friedrich Dernburg, *Auf deutscher Bahn in Kleinasien* (Berlin, 1892), p. 128. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 2, p. 495, transmits a fifteenth-century tradition naming the shrine of Seyit Ghazi as a neutral point on the frontier between the Ottomans and the emirate of Karaman. 'Warrior' shrines often serve such purposes in the Muslim world, and the transfer of Seyit Ghazi's name from Akroinos to Nakoleia may reflect an earlier boundary between tribes. Nakoleia did not mark the Byzantine frontier with the Seljuks. For other 'warrior' shrines, see for example E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 67-68. The role of the poetry celebrating the deeds of Sayyid Battal demands further discussion, but since the development of the texts is still unresearched any conclusions would be doubtful. I would remind the reader, however, that the Christian poetry surrounding Roland was recited to the Norman host at the battle of Hastings. This leads me to suspect that such epics as the Battal poems do not stimulate religious zeal but rather provide a religious cloak for tales of boldness and aggression.

24. I hope to treat this event in greater detail elsewhere. It has long been known that the Eskişehir plain and the route from Eskişehir to Kütahya had been in Muslim hands for over a century when the Ottomans arrived on the scene. If Karacahisar defends anything, it defends the pass to Kütahya from Eskişehir: it is not sited to defend Eskişehir itself nor the pass between Bozüyük/Lamunia and Inönü. The early Ottoman sources also associate the capture of Karacahisar with the initiation of enmity between Germiyan and the Ottomans.

25. J. Darrouzes, ed., *Les régestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris, 1977), 1:5, no. 2198, probably referring to a Christian judge in Ottoman service in 1340. During his captivity among the Ottomans, Gregory Palamas met Christian officials who enjoyed Orhan's confidence: Anna Philippidis-Braat, "La Captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs: dossier et commentaire,"

Travaux et memoires, 7 (1979) 204; Aşıkpaşazade (hereafter: APZ), ed. Ali, pp. 4-5, 12; APZ, ed. Giese, chs. 3, 10. These sections of APZ are not found in the Anonymous Chronicles and therefore stem from APZ's fourteenth-century source, Yahşi Fakih. For the literature on Christian timar-holders, see Nicoara Beliceanu, *Le timar dans l'Etat ottoman* (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 58; for Christian monks, metropolitans and bishops who held timars (some of whom had to provide soldiers), see Beldiceanu, *Timar*, p. 43.

26. APZ, ed. Ali, p. 12; ed. Giese, ch. 9.

27. APZ, ed. Ali, pp. 11, 14; ed. Giese, chs. 9-10.

28. The good reputation of Samsa Çavuş among the Christians has already been mentioned. Also: APZ, ed. Giese, ch. 13; APZ, ed. Ali, pp. 23-24, ed. Giese, ch. 20.

29. V.L. Ménage, "The Menaqib of Yakhshi Faqih," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26 (1963) 52-53.

30. Eva Pantuckova, "Zur Analyse eines der historischen Bestandteile von Ahmedis Iskendername," *Archiv Orientalni* 41 (1973) 30-33, 41.

31. Halil Inalcik, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (Oxford, 1962), pp. 152-67; V.L. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, pp. 168-79, and in greater detail in his *A Survey of the Early Ottoman Histories* (Ph.D. diss., London, 1961), pp. 52-56, 99, 119-20. I am grateful to Professor Ménage for allowing me to study his dissertation.

32. Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 273, n. 765.

33. APZ, ed. Ali, p. 21; *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, 1 (Breslau, 1922), p. 12.

34. APZ, ed. Ali, p. 8.

35. Since the early Ottomans were still nomads, it is worth recalling in this context the ritual poverty which was such a common feature of Muslim pastoral nomads before they became integrated into the modern centralized state in the Near East: Evans-Pritchard, *Sanusi*, pp. 62-64; Fredrik Barth, *Nomads of South Persia* (Oslo, 1961), p. 135; Richard Tapper, *Pasture and Politics* (London, 1979), p. 156. In fact, the most recent review of the ethnographic literature on pastoral nomadism ignores religious beliefs: Rada and Neville Dyson-Hudson, "Nomadic Pastoralism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980) 15-61.

36. "Der Stammbaum der Osmanen," *Der Islam* 14 (1925) 94-100, recapitulated in *Rise*, pp. 7-12.

37. The literature on this point is abundant. See, for example, Barth, *Nomads of South Persia*, pp. 55-56; William Irons, *The Yomut Turkmen* (Ann Arbor, 1975), p. 44; Robert N. Pehrson, *The Social Organization of the Marri Baluch* (Chicago, 1966), p. 34. In general, D.R. Eickelman, *The Middle East* (Englewood Cliffs, 1981), pp. 37, 96-97, 131-32.

38. See, for example, the transformation of Pathan into Baluch discussed by Barth in F. Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 124-25, and also Dyson-Hudson, "Nomadic Pastoralism," p. 48.

39. V. Laurent, *Régestes*, 1:4:1492: a fine against Bursans, and 1606; A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 187. For the role of chief as fulcrum, and for the role of external pressure in giving rise to the tribe, see William Irons, "Variation in Political Stratification among the Yomut Turkmen," *Anthropological Quarterly* 44:3 (1971) 143-56.

40. The earliest Ottoman coinage will be the subject of a separate study by Stephen Album, Adon A. Gordus, and the author, based upon the evidence of Anatolian coin boards.

41. See the remarks of V.L. Ménage in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12:3 (1980) 373.

42. Wittek, *Rise*, pp. 21-22.

43. Wittek, *Rise*, p. 20.

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SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

THE DECLINE OF MEDIEVAL HELLENISM IN ASIA MINOR AND THE PROCESS OF ISLAMIZATION FROM THE ELEVENTH THROUGH THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Ten years ago the University of California Press published my book, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*. In that work I set out to examine and to analyze the process and events by which a major portion of the inhabitants of Asia Minor was transformed from Greek-speaking Chalcedonian Christians to Muslims and Turkophones. The reasons for which I selected this broad topic are manifold. Any major turn and development in the history of the Greeks, who have played such a significant cultural role in antiquity and the Middle Ages, are important. The period treated in this book, eleventh to the fifteenth century, represents a crucial turning point in the historical fortunes of the Greeks, for it coincides with the last great political and geographical contraction of Hellenism. Under Alexander, the Hellenistic kingdoms, and Rome the Greek language and culture had expanded all the way to India. In the seventh century the rise of Islam had produced the first great retreat of this Hellenism, and the appearance of the Turks in Asia Minor and Southeast Europe removed the center of Greek demographic and cultural gravity once more to the southern Balkans. The subject is of further and essential importance in the ethnogenesis of the western Turks by virtue of the absorption of a substantial Greek-speaking element during the period under consideration. It also has a relevancy to any general evaluation of the historical experiences of the other Balkan peoples and Arabs during their centuries-long submission to the Turks. The cultural transformation of Asia Minor constitutes yet one more example of those cultural changes which characterize so much of the history of the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East during the Middle Ages, and adds to our materials for a comparative study. Finally, the history of this period has a particular relevance for the history of the violent relations of Greeks and Turks in more recent times.

The methodology which I employed has three salient characteristics. First, I used a double approach, that is to say I examined and analyzed both Byzantine and Turco-Islamic factors on the fundamental assumption that there were developments on each side which evolved variously over time to produce the dynamics of cultural change. Second, I examined exhaustively both the Christian and Muslim primary, written sources, sources written in Greek, Latin, European languages, Turkish, Arabic, and in translation those sources written in Persian, Armenian, Syriac, and Georgian. To this material was added other primary source material gleaned from: numismatics, epigraphy, sigillography, archaeology and folklore. I began with 'tabula rasa' and gradually sketched the picture of cultural change, detail by detail. Fully realizing the nature and the difficulty of the undertaking, as well as the ethnic, religious, political, scholarly passions, and prejudices attached to the subject, and being aware also of the varying quality and accuracy of the immense secondary bibliography, I determined from the start to base every statement of fact-interpretation either on a primary source, or on a combination of primary sources, or on an accumulation of data based on primary sources. The result was a huge scholarly apparatus consisting of 2,219 footnotes, hence the phrase "foot-note mania" employed by one of the book's reviewers (Rexine). I utilized some 253 separate primary sources which break down according to the following linguistics categories:

Sources used in the original		Sources used in translation	
Greek	133	Persian	14
Latin & Western	53	Syriac	6
Arab	25	Armenian	6
Turkish	13	Georgian	1
		Slavic	1
		Hebrew	1

In addition I referred to over 2,000 pieces of secondary literature (articles and books) in an effort to master the principal views, theories, and to ascertain the necessary background.

Third, my approach to the problem of cultural change has certain specific characteristics. By culture I do not understand the narrow sense of the word usually employed by Byzantinists and classicists and as described by the late Romily Jenkins as essentially an aristocratic or elitist phenomenon, or as he says, a meal eaten at the table of the high and the mighty and in which the commonality share only to the extent that a few crumbs fall from the table of the mighty to the commonality who wait around it. I understand the term in the anthropological sense as all-encompassing of every facet of organized human society and life, from literature to artisinal technology, from organized systems of thought to systems for perpetuating such systems of technology and thought within a society. From this point of view agricultural technology is as important as literary paideia.[1]

Difficulties of treating the subject are manifest. First and foremost was the problem of the sources. For a variety of reasons the sources present huge gaps. Greek narrative sources are Constantinopolitan-Nikaian-Trebizondine oriented. There is only partial narrative coverage for provincial areas, and only for some areas and only for some periods, in Greek, Persian, Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, Latin, and Turkish sources. Government archival material is largely missing, but there are administrative documents of Greek monasteries, Muslim waqfs and there is an Armenian legal code. A certain amount of information has been gleaned from epigraphic evidence, in a number of languages, and there are of course the Christian and Muslim hagiographical texts. Thus, perforce, a methodology based on such an incomplete body of source material will have programmed into it the gaps reflected in the sources. Second, Anatolian archaeology though it has begun to make some progress, is very incomplete and does not give as yet an overall picture of the peninsula for any period between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. Greek and Turkish folklore studies are somewhat more satisfactory though far from complete, and there is practically nothing accessible on the folklore of the Armenians and Syriac Christians.

What I propose to do in this paper is to examine the fate of the book, most specifically its seven basic theses, at the hands of the reviewers. Ultimately I wish to trace its fate in terms of the degree to which it is picked up in the new literature that concerns itself with some aspect of the many themes and sub-themes discussed in its pages and the degree to which its themes and subthemes are removed or invalidated by more recent scholarly research. But inasmuch as this is a long term project (I have accumulated over 1,000 new titles of books and articles which treat some aspect touched upon in the book) I only mention this for the sake of the record. Indeed three books have subsequently appeared which deal with the problems of conversion in the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East, and these books tie in very definitely with my own work, both in terms of specific contents and in terms of methodology.[2]

The reviews will be discussed as to their comments on and evaluations of the subject (how they view the central subject of the book), the methodology, and the seven theses.

I have, preliminarily, identified twenty reviews (as well as some mentions in library journals and in the Greek newspaper *Vema*), though there is at least one other review (in Georgian) recently communicated to me and perhaps others I have not seen. But these twenty undoubtedly represent the majority of the published reviews. The book was reviewed by six Byzantinists (Arnakis, Barker, Charanis, Hild, Nicol, Vaporis), by twelve 'Orientalists,' i.e., by Islamic and Turkish historians and by one Semitist (Cahen, Crane, Flemming, Guzeinov, Hamdani, Karadeniz, Kornrumpf, Menage, Pantuckova, Spuler, Wagner, Werner), by one political scientist (Kitromilides), and by one classicist (Rexine). The book was most often reviewed in journals dealing with Near Eastern studies, six (*International Journal of Middle East Studies, The Muslim World, Zeitschrift der deutschen morganländischen Gesellschaft, Belleten, The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Der Islam*), then in four Byzantine journals (*Vizantiiskii Vremennik, Byzantine Studies, Byzantino-Slavica, Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*), in two journals of medieval studies (*Speculum, Manuscripta*), in two journals of church history (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History, The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*), in one Balkanist periodical (*Südost-Forschungen*), one social science journal (*Epitheoresis Koinonikon Ereunon*), in one of the journals dedicated to Anatolian studies (*Mikrasiatika Chronika*), and in three general historical journals

(*Historische Zeitschrift, American Historical Review, Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*). Thus some type of knowledge about the book was 'circulated' to scholars in Byzantine, Near Eastern, Balkan studies, church history, medieval studies, Anatolian studies, and the general historical discipline. This is fairly broad coverage, though it is striking that there was no review in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. It is also of interest to note that there were twice as many reviews by Near Eastern specialists as there were by Byzantinists, a fact which tends to give a certain emphasis, coloration or 'prejudice' to the information circulated to the interested scholarly public by the reviewers. This statement proceeds on the assumption that a larger scholarly public knows about a scholarly book via reviews rather than by the actual reading and studying of the book itself.

A List of the Reviews

Arnakis, G., *American Historical Review*, 79 (1974), 203-04

Barker, J.W., *Manuscripta*, 17 (1973), 43-46

Cahen, C., *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 4 (1973), 112-17

Charanis, P., *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 597-600

Crane, H., *The Muslim World*, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 63 (1973), 75-77

Flemming, B., *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 124 (1974), 165-71

Guzeinov, R.A., *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 36 (1975), 182-83

Hamdani, A., *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines*, 1 (1974), 91-93

Hild, F., *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinische Gesellschaft*, 23 (1974), 353-55

Karadeniz, S., *Belleten*, 37 (1973), 408-12

Kitromilides, P.M., *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 16 (1975), 318-37

Kornrumpf, H-J., *Südost-Forschungen*, 31 (1972), 522-24

Menage, V.L., *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Stud-*

ies, 36 (1973), 659-61

Nicol, D.M., *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 24 (1973), 297-98

Pantuckova, E., *Byzantinoslavica*, 36 (1975), 53-54

Rexine, J.E., *Epitheoresis koinonikon ereunon*, 21-22 July-December 1974, 295-96

Spuler, B., *Der Islam*, 49 (1972), 353-54

Vaporis, N.M., *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 17 (1972), 293-95

Wagner, E., *Historische Zeitschrift*, 216 (1973), 664-65

Werner, E., *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 21 (1973), 1109-10

The seven theses of the book are the following:

"1. Anatolian Hellenism, or the medieval Greek cultural element of Anatolia, was quantitatively and qualitatively significant during the Byzantine period. Thus, the Turkish conquest and Islamization of Asia Minor represent something more than a negative historical event, for the invaders had to subdue and absorb a vital society.

2. The Turks did not completely subdue the peninsula and subject it to political unification until the latter half of the fifteenth century.

3. The nature of the conquest and settlement caused major dislocation and destruction to Byzantine society. The Turkish conquest lasted almost four centuries, during which time the one unified, stable Byzantine administration was replaced by countless, smaller unstable political entities that were in an almost constant state of war with one another. Thus much of Anatolia was transformed into the scene of continuous military strife. This condition and Muslim hegemony exercised a corrosive action upon the bonds and sentiments that held the Christian communities together, thus preparing the members for religious conversion. Though there is evidence for extensive conversion of Christians in the earlier period, as of the mid-thirteenth century the Christians of Anatolia still constituted a large bulk of the populace, perhaps even the majority.

4. The political and historical events of the Turkish conquests

in Asia Minor destroyed the Greek church as an effective social, economic, and religious institution. Given the fact that religion permeated and formed practically every aspect of medieval society, the sharp decline of the church was an unqualified disaster in the disappearance of the Byzantine character of Asia Minor.

5. Christian society, which had been subjected to such disruption and dislocation in the wake of the Turkish invasions, was isolated from the heartbeat of its own culture in Constantinople and deprived of ecclesiastical leadership in the provinces. Thus it was ripe for absorption into the new Islamic society. This was largely the work of Islamic institutions supported by the political and economic favor of the various Turkish principalities. These Muslim institutions (based securely on the economic possessions and revenues formerly belonging to the Christian Church), most important of which were the dervish orders, consummated the cultural transformation by converting the Christians to Islam.

6. The great military disasters induced a considerable variety of aetiological rationalization among the Anatolian Christians. To some the military conquests of the Turks proved the religious superiority of Islam over Christianity. Others saw in the Byzantine defeats either divine chastisement of an errant society, the chiliasitic end of human history, or an impersonal tyche that arbitrarily raised and abased empires. Many, whether of religious or secular historical persuasion, contented themselves with the prospect that the enslavement of the Greeks would, after a passage of time, be followed by the resurrection of the Greek Christian empire.

7. Byzantine culture in Anatolia, though effaced on the level of formal culture by Islamic Hochkultur, exercised a determinant role in much of Turkish folk culture or Tiefkultur." [3]

Reviews of the Byzantinists

By and large the book was well received by the Byzantinists with one exception, Arnakis, himself the author of a seminal work on the origins of the First Ottomans. Barker's final judgment is "...a major work...little short of monumental..." and "...a landmark work which illuminates topics of concern to scholars in many fields. As a work of imaginative and insightful synthesis I can think of few books on the Eastern Medieval world published in recent decades that can equal it in stature or impact." Charanis expresses the opinion that "Among the various books published on Asia Minor, whether Hellenistic, Roman or Byzantine, Vryonis', I think, is the best." "By the publication of these two books (the other by *Variorum Reprints*), Vryonis has definitely established himself as a great scholar." Despite certain criticisms (to which I shall return shortly) Held says of the book, "Die reiche Dokumentation ist eine Fundgrube für jeden Kleinasienforscher." Nicol calls it "an important book" and compares it to two other works: "The problem has been treated before (notably by A. Waechter... and by G.G. Arnakis)...but never on such a comprehensive scale." "These are small defects (he lists misspellings and misprints) in a big book which is full of interest for ecclesiastical historians, for it tells more than has been told before about the history of the decline and fall of the Christian church in one of its earliest breeding grounds." Finally Vaporis describes it as "...a work of outstanding scholarship," and says that it "should be read not only by historians but by every serious student of religion and church." The one generally negative opinion is that of Arnakis who ends his review: "The book is a tribute to Prof. Vryonis' erudition, yet it does not offer anything new of major importance. This does not reflect on the competence of the author; it springs from the nature of the subject." So much for the general and final evaluations of the book's scholarly value in the minds of the six Byzantinist reviewers.

Next we shall look briefly at how they evaluated the first four categories mentioned above: 1) Importance of the subject, 2) methodology, 3) cultural approach, 4) the seven theses of the book, and finally I shall address myself to specific criticisms and objections. All six reviewers accept the fact that the decline of medieval Hellenism and the subsequent Islamization of Asia Minor constitute a phenomenon of the first order of historical importance. They are all, also, in agreement as to the nature of methodology and comment specifically on the breadth of source coverage and the mastery of the sources, though Barker makes a seeming criticism to which I shall return in the appropriate place. Only one, Arnakis, comments specifically, and he does so approvingly, on the cultural approach which I apply, i.e., that of cultural anthropology in the broad definition of culture and cultural change. All reviewers either overtly accept the seven major theses of the book or else raise no specific objections. Thus the six Byzantinist reviewers all accept the overall concept of the book, its methodology, and the seven theses which constitute its conclusions. But as is already evident from Arnakis' final judgment, there are also specific criticisms levelled by some of the reviewers and it is to these that I now wish to address myself.

Arnakis, though he accepts the importance of the subject, the validity of the methodology, the cultural approach and the seven theses, nevertheless dislikes the book intensely. The dislike is evident throughout though the reasons are not so evident, at least to me. He ends his review, as we saw, with the statement that the book "...does not offer anything new of major importance. This does not reflect on the competence of the author; it springs from the nature of the subject." This is a very complex statement to understand. Indeed it is mystical, for the principle which one is to abstract from the statement is the following: There are certain subjects, which by nature, defy any attempt to extrapolate from them anything newer (quantitative or qualitative) as to their substance. Since my subject deals with the decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor, Arnakis is saying that this is a particular subject about which nothing "new of major importance" can be discovered because of "the nature of the subject." He thereby, and unwittingly, condemns his own work, *The Early Osmanlis*, which as he informs his reader in the review (since I failed to do so in the book) "bears the relevant subtitle 'A Contribution to the Problem of the Fall of Hellenism in Asia Minor 1282-1337.'" If indeed the "nature of the subject" precludes the discovery of "anything new of major importance" in the one case it must also do so in the other. Further, as Nicol noted Arnakis' book (it is an important book, indeed the only important study that Arnakis wrote) is much more circumscribed chronologically and geographically than my own and so there are many subjects and propositions treated and brought forth there that do not appear in his own. Among these are: 1) A quantitative and qualitative analysis and description of medieval Hellenism in eleventh century Asia Minor; 2) a detailed description and analysis of the Turkish invasions throughout the period; 3) the effect of these invasions and settlements on the Christian society; 4) the nature of the Turkmen settlements and the specific characteristics of contemporary nomadic life; 5) the status of the Greek church in Asia Minor in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries; 6) a new and detailed study of the battle of Manzikert; 7) an analysis of the economic impoverization of the church; 8) an analysis of the economic presuppositions for the success of Islamization; 9) the dating of the critical phases of the great cultural transformation. None of these large subjects appear satisfactorily treated elsewhere, and certainly not in Arnakis' book.

In an effort to make his criticisms somewhat more specific Arnakis writes: "Nonetheless, the inevitable temptation . . . will be to simplify intricate and interwoven problems in order to understand them, and in doing so, to distort the substance of the factors of Anatolian history. Such a tendency to simplify appears first in the use of the term Asia Minor in the title and throughout the book." Arnakis prefers the use of the term Anatolia and he goes on to great extent on the subject. Then he suggests a shorter title for the book, "Cross versus Crescent in Anatolia." For Arnakis, then, my error of oversimplification consists in the use of the term Asia Minor instead of or interchangeably with Anatolia. When I read further in the review for other examples of "oversimplification of intricate and interwoven problems," I found none. But he then objected to the use of "numerous and detailed footnotes, including many long quotations in Greek. The book would have fared better with fewer, and with summaries and translations of the original texts." So after "oversimplification" or complex phenomena, he objects to the "complexification" of footnotes and wants them "simplified." If one peruses, cursorily, the pages of his own book it soon becomes apparent that often the text of his book has been an appendage to his own extremely lengthy footnotes, generally filled with long quotes. In any case, a book as controversial as my own, must be fully documented.

He then states: "Further, parallel historical developments must be studied... in an effort to find missing links in the chain of events and insights into the factors underlying the change. Not only must the situation in Egypt and Syria after the rise of Islam be investigated, but also that in the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman rule ...". I have of course gone into the comparative aspects of the study of these cultural changes on pages 459-60, and 484 with a very ample critical bibliography as well. But extensive study of these call for several separate books (see the work of Vryonis, *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages*, Wiesbaden, 1975).

He is peeved by the number (small?) of times that I refer to his book and the fact that I quote it by its shorter and not by its longer title. So he writes: "Arnakis' *Early Osmanlis* (in Greek) cited about a dozen times, bears the relevant subtitle 'A Contribution to the Problem of the Fall of Hellenism in Asia Minor 1282-1337' and is number 41 of the Beihefte of Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher," and then he generously furnishes the reader with a reference to R.L. Wolff's favorable review, *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 483-88. Actually, I only referred to his book eleven times.

A Greek nationalist to the bitter end, Arnakis complains: "Relevant Greek works by Amantos, Bees, and Diomedes are left out of the footnotes." I am afraid that Arnakis was careless and must have found the footnotes too numerous and too extensive. I refer to the following works of Amantos in the book:

1) On p. 47, no. 235, "Γοτθογραῖκοι-Γοτθογραικία," Ἑλληνικά, 5 (1932), 25.

2) On p. 49, no. 246, "Μαρδαΐται," Ἑλληνικά, 5 (1932), 130-36.

3) On p. 51, no. 265, "Σκλάβοι, Σκλαβησιανοὶ καὶ βάρβαροι," Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 7 (1932), 333-35.

4) On p. 321, no. 187, "Zu den Bischofslisten als historischer Quelle," Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress München 1958 (Munich, 1960), 21-23.

As for Bees I refer to him:

1) On p. 230, no. 512, Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sinaiticus Graecus 508 (976) und die Maria Spiläotissa Klosterkirche bei Sille (Lykaonien). Mit Exkursen zur Geschichte der Seldschukiden-Türken (Berlin, 1922).

2) On p. 236, no. 560, to the same work.

3) On p. 407, no. 10, to the same work.

4) On p. 462, no. 63, to the same work.

As for Diomedes, his work was no longer really relevant and I did not see the reason to swell the work with an irrelevant item simply because his work was written in Greek.

He further complains: "The book is addressed to a scholarly audience, even to the narrow circle of specialists. Such matters as the practice of citing the titles of books and articles in non-western languages without a translation; the appearance of the titles of Greek journals in Greek script." My only comment is that the book was intended to be a work of scholarship and not of semi-popularization.

My reaction to the Arnakis review is that it is in error, for there is much that is new. Also he has been somewhat inconsistent in his criticisms, i.e., I oversimplify (by using Asia Minor instead of Anatolia) when I should be presenting the complexities of the phenomenon, and yet he is critical because the footnotes are too complex...these should be simplified. One criticism that is common to many of both the Byzantinists and Islamists is the lack of a bibliography at the end of the work. It is a shortcoming which I acknowledge, but it was dictated by economic factors. Since all the sources and secondary literature are identified in the footnotes, it was felt that the addition of a very long bibliography would merely make a long book longer and more expensive.

John Barker, who basically praises the book, has nevertheless serious criticisms or reservations. "As Vryonis is the first to admit, the material presented and the way it is shaped hardly exhausts the subject. There are many aspects about which one would like to know but which he does not cover, either because of the unavailability of information, or because surviving information remains unexplored. Much documentary material in Turkish archives has barely been examined at all, and evidence of widely varying kinds requires analysis by diversely qualified specialists for years to come."

This is a curious statement. 1) If information is "unavailable," then how can a subject be "exhausted" further from this category of unavailable information? 2) "Surviving information remains unexplored." The information has been largely explored, but it was not my purpose to "exhaust" every subject, as this would have called for a multivolume enterprise. I wished to fathom and to trace this one basic cultural evolution, not to stop along the way and exhaust everything else. 3) Ottoman archival material begins, basically (with a few exceptions) in the mid-fifteenth century, therefore at a time when the cultural transformation I have been studying is basically over. But I have had recourse to Ottoman materials wherever relevant. Indeed one reviewer castigates me on the few occasions I have recourse to Ottoman documents for the study of my own phenomenon on the grounds that it is anachronistic.

Barker continues in regard to the nature of materials which I utilized for the book: "Nevertheless, his book is by no means unoriginal, for he does draw fresh information, or collate new insights, from already available sources. On the whole however, his is a work of synthesis, bringing together the results of a daunting number of specialized studies and welding the existing literature, both primary and secondary, into a meaningful shape."

It is difficult to ascertain exactly what he means by "already available sources," by "His is a work of synthesis, bringing together the results of a daunting number of specialized studies," and "welding the existing literature, both primary and secondary into a meaningful shape."

Does he mean by the phrase "already available sources" published sources as in contrast to those which are still unedited and exist only in manuscript form? In either case research on the basis of printed or unedited sources still constitutes original research based on *primary* sources. He is certainly in error when he characterizes the book as a "work of synthesis bringing together the results of a daunting number of specialized studies," for if the reader should take the trouble to study the text of the book he will see that far and away the majority of statements and footnotes are based on references to primary sources and that there are no substantial secondary works for many of the phenomena that I study in the book. A check of the footnote structure gives the following statistics:

Chapter	Number of footnotes referring to primary sources	Total number of footnotes
I	207	335
II	225	296
III	757	801
IV	270	288
V	121	166
VI	114	126
VII	70	207
Total	1764	2219

Roughly 80% of all notes are based on primary sources.

Further, as stated in the beginning, the basic procedure was to begin with a "tabula rasa" and to build the structure and picture on the basis or primary sources. Barker has missed the point of the methodology completely. It perhaps is a reflection of his own manner of working, if one can judge from his book, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Later Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), page ix of the Preface where he states: "It [the book] is designed rather to provide a basis for a further evaluation of Manuel II by *synthesizing the already existing scholarly work* on details or aspects of his life, by *sampling in translation his surviving literary work*, and by pointing ahead to work yet to be done..." Further, in his bibliography at the back of the book I note that he refers to no Ottoman archival materials, to only one Ottoman chronicle (in Serbian translation, which he himself cannot read), and to only two south Slavic sources (in translation) and this for a period and for an emperor whose relations with both groups of peoples were crucial. As far as his ability to read the Greek primary texts, I only note that in his Preface he says that his investigation involves "sampling in translation his (Manuel's) surviving literary works..." Manifestly, my methodology is radically different from that which Barker states that it is and radically different from that which he applied in his own book. Barker, at the end of the critical portion of his review, states that "the book is not always easy reading," and that it ends "without the slightest effort at making a final flourish of conclusion." In fact the conclusions are drawn at the end of each chapter, and the final conclusions are drawn in the last section, entitled "Recapitulation," on pages 498-501.

Then he "invalidates" the "apparatus." "Finally, one last defect, perhaps understandable in so complex a book, must be noted: its apparatus is already out of date, for few or no works published during the previous three or four years are utilized. Cahen's significant and partly parallel book, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (1968), is alluded to only in a note added to the Preface; while many more peripheral or more specialized studies (such as Garsoian's *The Paulician Heresy*, 1967, and my own *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 1969, to name a few) receive no acknowledgement or reference at all." First it should be noted that Cahen and Barker came out after my manuscript had been finished and handed over to the press. Second, as pointed out above, about 80% of the footnotes refer to primary sources, that is to say the book depends primarily on original research on primary sources (unlike Barker's book which depends on secondary publications). Thus the intervening three years of secondary publications such as Barker's do not affect the method or the basic theses of the book, for primary research on resources is never "out of date." It is surely a matter of detail. Third, the book of Cahen is not at all parallel, it is in a sense complementary, because the thrust and goal of the two books are entirely different. One is to study the Seljuk and beylkis of Asia Minor, the other is to trace the decline of medieval Hellenism and the process of Islamization. As will appear later, the book of Cahen has singularly little to say or to contribute to my main subject.

The generally favorable comments of F. Hild are interspersed with individual criticisms of specific data. As a specialist in Byzantine historical geography and as a primary force in the Vienna Tabula Imperii Byzantini, it is understandable that he would concentrate on data appertaining to his particular interests, and it is here where his observations are most helpful in correcting geographical errors in my work. Thus on the map of Asia Minor he notes genereally some erroneous placements of sites and the fact that the Cilician Gates are located 50 kilometers too far to the northeast, some erroneous spellings are noted, and the confused identification of Plastenitza with Komana instead of with Elbistan, Didymon istead of Didymoi, and of Soublaion with Choma-Soublaion.

Though he is undoubtedly correct in the above observations, he is nevertheless in error in the remaining criticisms of isolated particulars. He states:

"Vryonis...kommt weiters zu der ganz unverständlichen Auffassung, dass die Städte Kleinasiens so sicher waren, dass sie keine Stadtmauern brauchten; als Beispiel führt er S. 26 Melitene, Sebasteia, und Artze an, Städte deren mittelalterliche Mauern teils heute noch erhalten, teils ausdrücklich literarisch bezeugt sind."

First, it is a matter of understanding the English of my text. I nowhere state that all the cities of Asia Minor were so secure that they had no walls. What I did say was that "These towns were comparatively safe and shielded from the massive upheaval that enveloped urban society in much of the Balkans."

Now this is borne out by the fact that Melitene, Sebasteia, and Artze, on the eve of the Seljuk invasions, *were unwalled.* Hild finds this unacceptable because, he says, walls there are still partially preserved today and they are literally attested. The dating of medieval walls is a complex matter, and indeed contemporary sources (or sources which rely on other contemporary accounts) which are reliable (and to which I referred in the text and which Hild ignored) specifically state that these three cities were without walls on the eve of the Turkish invasions. According to these accounts Artze was a rich, populous town of merchants (Armenians, Syrians, and indigenous) and a depot for the rich goods coming from India, Iran, and Asia. But it was unwalled, and when the Turks appeared the inhabitants defended themselves by placing trees and timbers across the narrow streets and by shooting at the Turks from their houses. They were thus successful in defending themselves for six days and in inflicting bloody losses on the Turks until the latter succeeded in burning them out of their houses. It is clear according to all four sources that Artze at the moment of the Turkish invasion was unwalled.

1. Cedrenus-Bonn, 2, 577, 578.

> ὁ δὲ Ἀβράμιος τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἠστοχηκὼς στρατιᾶς ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Ἄρτζε. κωμόπολις δὲ τὸ Ἄρτζε μυρίανδρος καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον ἔχουσα· ᾤκουν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἰθαγενεῖς τε ἔμποροι καὶ Σύρων καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν πληθὺς οὐκ ὀλίγη· οἵτινες τῇ οἰκείᾳ θαρροῦντες πληθύϊ οὐ κατεδέξαντο εἴσω τείχους γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἐκ γειτόνων κειμένης, μεγίστης πόλεως καὶ τεῖχος ἐχούσης ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀνάλωτον, πολλὰ τοῦ Κεκαυμένου διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος καὶ παρακαλέσαντος. καταλαβόντων οὖν τῶν Τούρκων καὶ ἁπτομένων ἔργου, οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἄρτζε τὰς διόδους συγκλείσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων ἀναβάντες λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις καὶ τόξοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἠμύνοντο. καὶ διετέλεσαν μαχόμενοι ἐφ᾽ ὅλας ἡμέρας ἕξ. ἀγγελθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ὁ Κεκαυμένος πολὺς ἦν ἐγκείμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ συμβαλεῖν τοῖς Τούρκοις τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ μὴ καθῖσθαι τηνάλλως καὶ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, τήν συκίνην προσμένοντας ἐπικουρίαν τὸν Λιπαρίτην, καὶ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον παρατρέχοντα βλέπειν καιρόν, οὗ τυχεῖν πάλιν οὐ ῥᾴδιον. ἀντιπίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀαρών, καὶ μηδέν τι διαπράξασθαι λέγοντος παρὰ τό βασιλικὸν βούλημα, ἡσυχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦγεν. Ἀβράμιος δὲ μὴ κατὰ σχοπὸν χωρούντων αὐτῷ

τῶν πραγμάτων, μὴ δυνάμενος πολιορκίᾳ τὴν κωμόπολιν παραστήσασθαι, ὑπεριδὼν καὶ πλούτου καί λείας πῦρ ἐνεῖναι τοῖς δώμασιν ἐγκελεύεται, καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ Τοῦρκοι δαλοὺς αἴροντες καὶ ὕλην εὔπρηστον ἐξάπτοντες ἐρρίπτουν ἐν τοῖς δώμασιν· ἀναφθέντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς πανταχόθεν καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς μεγίστης ἀνεγερθέισης, οἱ Ἀρτζηνοὶ πρός τε τὸ πῦρ πρός τε τὰς ἐκ τῶν τόξων βολὰς μὴ δυνηθέντες ἀντέχειν ἐνέκλιναν εἰς φυγήν. καὶ λέγεται ἀπολέσθαι περὶ τὰς ρν΄ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν μαχαίρας τῶν δὲ πυρὸς παρανάλωμα γεγονότων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπεὶ κατισχυμένοι ἔγνωσαν ἀποσφάττεσθαι, γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τέκνα ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἀπερρίπτουν. οὕτω τοῦ Ἄρτζε ληφθέντος, πολὺ χρυσίον εὑρὼν ὁ Ἀβράμιος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χρειώδη, ὁπόσα μὴ τῷ πυρὶ κατέστησαν ἄχρηστα, περιβαλόμενος δὲ καὶ ἵππον οὐκ ὀλίγην καὶ ὑποζύγια, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαὸν καθοπλίσας ὡς ἔδει, ὑπέστρεψεν ἀναζητῶν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν δύναμιν.

2. Zonaras-Bonn, 3, 638-639.

ἀτρεμούντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μὲ δυνάμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀλὶμ συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὀχύρωμά τι προσκαθημένοις ἔπεισι τῷ Ἄρτζε (κωμόπολις δ' ἦν τοῦτο, πληθὺς δ' ἐνῴκει αὐτῷ, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαίνουσα, ἔμποροι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πλοῦτος ἦν αὐτοῖς περιττός). ὡς γοῦν ἀτείχιστον τὴν κωμόπολιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἑλεῖν αὐτὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἤλπιζον, ἀλλ' ἔγνωσαν παραβουκολούμενοι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐπείπερ ταύτῃ προσέβαλον. ταῖς γὰρ διόδοις ὕλας ἐπαγαγόντες οἱ ταύτης κάτοικοι καὶ ταύταις αὐτὰς ἀποφράξαντες, ἐκ τῶν δωμάτων ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ ἀνῄρουν πολλούς, καὶ τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμέραις ἐγίνετο ἕξ. ὡς δ' ἔγνω ὁ τῶν Τούρκων στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀλὶμ ἐρρωμενέστατα τοὺς Ἀρτζηνοὺς ἀντεχομένους καὶ πολιορκίᾳ ῥᾷστα μὴ ἁλωτούς, πυρὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν περιγενέσθαι διέγνωκεν· αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἀνῆπτο τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς οἰκήμασιν ὑπεβάλλετο. ὡς δ' ἐξήφθη πανταχόθεν πυρκαϊά, τρέπονται μὲν οἱ ἐγχώριοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι κρατοῦσι τῆς κωμοπόλεως καὶ πολὺν ἐν αὐτῇ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄλλον πλοῦτον εὑρήκασιν, ὅσος μὴ κατηνάλωτο τῷ πυρί.

3. Attaliates-Bonn, 148.

Διελθὼν οὖν ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὴν προκειμένην ὁδόν, κατέλαβε

> τὴν Θεοδοσίου πόλιν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ παραμεληθεῖσαν καὶ ἀοίκητον γενομένην διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ Ἄρζη πλησίον οὔσῃ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τῆς θέσεως δρωμένῃ μεταθέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν οἴκησιν, καὶ μεγάλην ἐγκαταστῆσαι χωρόπολιν καὶ παντοίων ὠνίων, ὅσα Περσική τε καὶ Ἰνδικὴ καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἀσία φέρει, πλῆθος οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον φέρουσαν, πρὸ ὀλίγων δὲ χρόνων ἀνοικοδομηθεῖσαν καὶ κατοχυρωθεῖσαν, τὴν Θεοδοσίου πόλιν λέγω, τάφρῳ καὶ τείχεσι διὰ τὴν Τούρκων ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου γειτνίασιν, δι᾽ ὧν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἄρτζη παμπληθεὶ τὴν σφαγὴν προϋπέμεινε καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν.

4. A.E. Dostourian, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated from the Armenian (Ann Arbor, 1972), 1, 119.

> In this year the forces of the infidels reached the renowned and populous Armenian town called Arcn, and they found the town unfortified and filled with a countless multitude of men and women and also an innumerable quantity of gold and silver. When the townspeople saw the infidel forces they went forth in battle together, and a violent and horrible combat was fought around the confines of the town.

For Melitene we have a reliable source, Michael the Syrian, who is in effect in possession of a great deal of material on the local history of the city and its environs over a long period of time.

Michael the Syrian-Chabot, 3, 165-66.

> En l'an 1377, commença à régner Constantinus Ducas, qui était de la province de Paphlagonie.
>
> Celui-ci rebâtit le mur de Mélitène. Il mourut après avoir régné 9 ans; et sa femme et ses fils, gouvernèrent pendant 8 mois....
>
> En ce temps-là, c'est-à-dire en l'an 1372, Constantinus, empereur des Romains, surnommé Ducas, ordonna de reconstruire les deux murs et le fossé de Mélitène, pour que les eaux entourassent la ville, dans le fossé, comme jadis. Quand le décret de l'empereur parut et fut connu de quelques notables, que se trouvaient dans la ville impériale et qui étaient (originaires) de la ville (de Mélitène), dans laquelle leurs parents étaient même ensevelis, ils partirent et vinrent avec l'édit de l'empereur. La plupart d'entre eux étaient des Syriens orthodoxes.
>
> Comme le décret de l'empereur était très pressant, [376] on rassembla des ouvriers, c'est-à-dire de nombreux architectes, du Beit Roumayê et d'Antioche, et ils s'entendirent avec les gens de la ville. Les notables qui étaient revenus de la ville impériale s'étant chargés chacun d'un côté, en

> peu de temps les murs furent admirablement rebâtis et achevés. Et, comme les combats et les pillages, qui les entouraient de tous côtés, les tourmentaient et les pressaient, ils ne purent rien ajouter à l'état précédent de la ville; mais ils bâtirent et terminèrent le mur sur les fondements antérieurs.

According to this source the walls of Melitene were rebuilt at the order of Constantine IX Doukas, as a result of the Turkish threat, and he imposed the obligation of their rebuilding on the Syrian notables who contracted with the craftsmen for the labor. The walls were then rebuilt on the ruins of the old ones, and the moat was refilled with water.

Finally for the case of Sebasteia we have the account of Matthew of Edessa.

Matthew of Edessa-Dostourian, 1, 156.

> On the day of the barekendan of Vardavar the numerous infidel forces encircled Sebastia and thus the entire city was completely besieged on all sides. Wielding the sword, all the enemy troops entered the city and countless persons were cut down and received severe wounds; moreover, streaming blood covered the ground, a sight which appeared frightful to onlookers. The bodies of illustrious personages were heaped up on the ground like piles of forest wood and the surface of the ground was covered with blood because of the great number of corpses. The city of Sebastia was unfortified.

The sources thus clearly state that these three cities had no walls at the time that the Turks first appeared. It is incumbent upon Hild to deal with the information in these texts and in general archaeologists should synchronize their archaeological studies with the evidence of the texts.[5] If he then still rejects the texts he must present the specific evidence which brings him to this rejection of the written sources. This Hild does not do.

Another criticism of Hild hinges perhaps upon an insufficient understanding of my English text:

"Vr. irrt, wenn er S. 192 auf Grund einer missverstandenen Stelle bei Ramsay behauptet, dass im Gebiet zwischen Usak, Isparta, Uluborlu und Chonai die byzantinischen Ortsnamen völlig verschwanden. Gerade Chonai, das heutige Honaz, oder Choma, heute Homa und Sivasli, das alte Sebaste sind Beweise für das Fortleben der alten Ortsnamen auch in diesem Gebiet."

On p. 192 I was speaking of the dense build-up of Turkmen settlement in this area, the failure of the Byzantines to remove the Turkmens, and the mass desolation of the area attested by the contemporary Byzantine and Crusader sources. The rural area between these four cities was heavily nomadized. Thus I wrote "Only Laodikeia and Chonai survived as Byzantine urban outposts, but they were isolated by the heavy nomadic settlements around them. It is as a result of this process of nomadization that Byzantine place names have virtually disappeared in the region between Ushak in the north, Isparta and Uluburlu in the southeast, and Chonai in the southwest." Thus I am speaking of the rural area within these four urban centers. first I said the Greek place names "virtually disappeared," virtually means "for the most part." Second I did not include Chonai. The only significant surviving Greek place name he gives, and which I do not mention, is Sivasli.

Finally he adds extra bibliography on the question of the easternmost expansion of the empire of Nikaia (we do not differ as to the extent), on the episode of Alexios Philanthropenos in western Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century (the long study of Schreiner in OCP, XXXV-1969), and the new book of Kourouses (which appeared in 1972) on Matthew the metropolitan of Ephesos. In none of these incidents do we find ourselves in disagreement of fact. He simply adds bibliography which for the most part appeared after my manuscript had been finished and delivered to the press.

Donald Nicol has no major criticism of the book but does make one very useful suggestion. In giving examples of the experience of specific episcopal figures in Asia Minor during the period under discussion, I gave a rather detailed account of Matthew the metropolitan of Ephesos. He suggested that the examples of Niphon of Kyzikos and Theoleptos of Philadelphia might well be added. To this I can only agree.

He has some reservations about the use of the term "medieval Hellenism," but he does not go into the matter nor shall I. Finally, he notices three misspellings of geographical names.

By way of conclusion on the Byzantinist reviews of the book I note their general acceptance of the importance of the subject, the methodology, the seven theses on the one hand; on the other I find valid their requests for better proofreading in order to avoid misspellings, the request for the correction of errors in geography, the updating of the secondary bibliography so as to incorporate the relevant literature and new findings since the manuscript of the book was finished in 1967-68, the addition of the case studies of Theoleptos of Philadelphia and of Niphon of Kyzikos to that of Matthew of Ephesos, and the addition of a massive bibliography at the end of the work. But in the criticisms of Arnakis, Barker, Hild I have found errors of fact, methodology and conceptualization.

Reviews of the "Orientalists"

The "Orientalists" contributed twelve reviews of the book, or twice as many as those written by Byzantinists. By and large their reviews ended with favorable overall judgments of the book, though this varied from completely favorable to the other extreme as expressed in Flemming's review and which I would describe as "questionably" favorable.

Cahen as the author of a recent history of the Rum Seljuks expressed the opinon of the foremost Seljuk specialist from among the reviewers in a long-winded review. Though combative over a number of points, he justifies the length of his review by, among other things, "l'importance du livre..." and after four pages of comment he ends: "A marquer ainsi à mesure de la lecture les réserves qui se présentent à l'esprit, on donne l'impression de porter sur le livre un jugement sévère. Ce n'est pas le cas. Il n'y a jamais, heureusement, entre deux spécialistes de complète coincidence. Il ne s'ensuite pas que l'oeuvre de Speros Vryonis ne soit riche d'une quantité à la fois d'information et d'idées. C'est un ouvrage qui ne nous quittera pas, qui certe ne sera pas un terme à nos études (quelles études en ont?) mais qui sera une incitation à les continuer, une base élargie et affermie pour le faire." Crane describes it as a "significant and interesting attempt at synthesis in this complex field. All students of the history of Asia Minor in the late Middle Ages, as well as those interested in the process of cultural change, will find it an important book." The most negative of the Orientalists, B. Flemming, does find something positive to say in a seven page review literally bristling with negative observations. "Vryonis wird mit seinem Versuch, kombinatorisch die Ergebnisse verschiedener Disziplinen auszuwerten, und mit seiner freimütig ausgesprochenen Überzeugnungen sicher interessierte Leser gewinnen und die wissenschaftliche Diskussion anregen.... Die Ausdauer, mit der Vr. eine Fülle z.T. ganz entlegenen Materials zussamengetragen und in einem eindrucksvollen Anmerkungsapparat dokumentiert hat, verdient Anerkennung." H-J. Kornrumpf says of the work, "Dies ist ihm...vorzüglich gelungen." A. Hamdani comments that it is "a monumental achievement and will remain a standard source of information on this complex subject for a very long time." V. Menage commented: "His book is at once a profound study of the processes of conversion in a society cut off from a once confident Imperial power and an invaluable collection of data on numerous facets of medieval Byzantine and Turkish society." Pantuckova adds, "From the point of view of quality and quantity, Vryonis' work is a contribution to the research being done in this field; it is packed with information and ideas which will certainly be persued [sic] by others." B. Spuler opines: "So hat sich der. Vf. ein grosses Verdienst erworben, wenn er diesen Vorzug...aufgrund eingehender Untersuchung von Zeugnissen aller einschlägigen Sprachen erneut dargestellt hat." For E. Wagner the results of the book have to do with "einige wichtige Ergebnisse des überaus reich dokumentierten und von grosser Belesenheit auf byzantinischem, islamkundlichem und turkologischem Gebiet zeugenden Werkes..." E. Werner concludes his review: "Mögen demnach manche Thesen des Vf. strittig bleiben, so regt er doch auch hier die weitere Forschung an, die seinem grund legende Einsichten für den inneren Werdegang der 'Türkei' verdankt." Finally the long note of Karadeniz in the Turkish journal *Belleten* simply catalogues the book's contents without evaluating it.

In short, the Orientalists, despite many criticisms (to which I shall presently turn) are in agreement with the Byzantinists: the book is important.

The Orientalists break down into three basic camps: a) those who review the book extremely favorably and who are in overall agreement with the book as to the importance of the subject, the methodology, and with all of the seven theses. At the head of this group is Menage followed by Guseinov, Spuler, Kornrumpf, Wagner, and Werner; b) second, those who vigorously criticize aspects of the methodology or some of the seven theses and at the head of whom is Cahen, closely followed by Flemming, and at some distance Hamdani and Pantuckova; c) in between is the third 'group,' consisting of Crane. Let us examine the second group which vigorously criticizes some aspects of the book.

First there is an attack, sometimes explicit, at other times implicit, on what the critics suppose to be my "outlook" as they call it, in effect however what they mean is my "prejudice." Cahen strikes this particular note and it is, I think, important to quote this in full for this "note" is echoed in the reviews of three other "Orientalists." Cahen begins his review in the very first sentence-paragraph with the following pronouncement: "La turquisation de l'Asie Mineure, c'est-à dire le remplacement d'une culture ancienne et évoluée, celle de l'hellénisme byzantino-chrétien, par celle d'un peuple nouveau-venu et longtemps beaucoup plus fruste, a toujours paru aux Européens, bien qu'elle ne soit pas tout-à-fait seule de son genre dans l'histoire, un phénomène difficile à admettre; et il est compréhensible qu'il soit ressenti avec une acuité particulière par les Grecs, auxquels de par son origine se rattache l'auteur du présent livre." According to Cahen Europeans have always found it difficult to admit or to accept that the culture of the Turks replaced the culture of the Greeks in Asia Minor. Second, he states that the Greeks in particular found it difficult to accept this. Third, he informs us that the author of the book being reviewed is a Greek. I must demur as to the first part of the proposition for in my substantial reading on the subject the Europeans historically and indeed contemporaneously have had no difficulty in accepting or admitting that the one people (Turks) and their culture have replaced the Greeks and their culture in the area that constitutes present-day Turkey. One need only read the travel literature that emerges from the fifteenth century until modern times to be convinced that European observers testify to this basic historical fact readily, easily, and profusely. The same holds true for what one may call diplomatic literature. Even in those cases where the opposite is being proposed, it is for very specific political programs. As far as the Greeks are concerned even from the reading of the texts which I have so frequently quoted in my book, Cahen should have known that the Greek authors and Greeks at large, faced with the political and cultural realities of several centuries, comment richly on the fact that the Turkish language and Islam have replaced the Greek tongue and church in most of Asia Minor. Whether they liked it or not is quite a different matter, as are also the political pamphlets that emerged as a result of modern irredentist claims.

Then Cahen completes the evolution of his first observation/thought in this first paragraph of the book: Europeans find it difficult to accept this transformation, Greeks in particular suffer from this difficulty, and the author is a Greek, and therefore racially a double heir to this prejudice. Cahen is the only reviewer who brings to bear the charge of prejudice inherited on the basis of race. The fullness of this charge can be more fully comprehended if one were to propose a reverse example, to wit: In answering Cahen I should also begin by a general proposition characterizing his ethnic-racial background in these matters, and then make it specific by referring to the fact that he belongs to a particular racial-ethnic background and must perforce feel these sentiments "avec une acuité particulière..." The riposte would be immediate and I would be condemned for racism. In fact in my book I have not found the Islamization (or Turkification) "un phenomène difficile à admettre." It is spelled out loudly and clearly on practically every page, and is a clear notice to all those who would propound the reverse, that in effect this process was thorough and almost complete by the mid-fifteenth century. Cahen's statement to a scholarly, even highly specialized, audience that it is to the Greeks "auxquels de par son origine se rattache l'auteur de present livre," is superfluous and curious. My name, my reputation(s?), and certainly my origin are well known to the readers of IJMES. But his statement is more than superfluous for it reflects Cahen's "outlook" or prejudice and how he looks upon Greeks in general who undertake to write on the subject, all of this after having read a five-hundred page description of the very process which he says I have great difficulty in admitting or accepting. Coming in the very opening paragraph of his review it is an assurance that he brings certain prejudices to the work himself and is passing them on to the readers of the review. There is no evidence whatever in this book that I have difficulty in admitting or accepting that Islamization replaced Greek culture in Asia Minor.

The matter is presented somewhat differently by the Czech reviewer Pantuckova who sees it in terms of a scholarly-discipline "outlook" or "prejudice." She writes "Vryonis approaches his subject from the point of view of a Byzantinologist, and this often appears to detract from an objective evaluation of the situation." And she continues in the next paragraph: "In spite of these few critically-sounding comments, however, I feel that even the restricted viewpoint of a Byzantinologist is not harmful to the matter itself." What is her evidence for the fact that my disciplinary baggage as a Byzantinist detracts from my ability to assess objectively the phenomenon under consideration? First she assumes it from the fact that I am a Byzantinist. But objectivity, in theory, should have nothing to do with one's scholarly discipline since absolutely and theoretically objectivity is common to the scholarly disciplines. When one's discipline becomes an impediment to objectivity it is no longer scholarly. As a Byzantinologist one acquires the scholarly technique that is necessary precisely for objective evaluations in Byzantine studies, and 2) he acquires control of a critical body of data, sources, and secondary literature. Why does she assume that the "outlook" of a Byzantinist is any more "restricted" than that of a Turkologist or Islamist? What is her specific evidence for the fact that I have failed before the standards of "objective evaluation" and that my viewpoint is "restricted"?

For Pantuckova my failure to evaluate objectively is evident in four examples which she *purportedly* takes from my book.

"For example, his over-emphasis on the negative contribution of the Turkish element in Anatolia...sometimes encourages one to take an opposite stand. And in the final chapter...he refers to the Karamanli as Turkified Greeks, whereas in fact it would seem that they were Byzantinized Turks. It is also difficult to judge the extent to which the nature of the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires were determined by Byzantine influence, while at the same time Vryonis seems to have ascribed a greater role to Byzantine traditions in the Osman [sic] empire than they actually had (for example the Irano-Islamic influence certainly had a dominating influence in the highest state institutions). And although the relation between the Byzantine pronoia and the Osman [sic] timar has not yet been satisfactorily clarified, Vryonis sees a clear connection between them."

It is on the basis of these observations that Pantuckova bases her claim that as a Byzantinist I am not able to attain "an objective evaluation" and that my outlook is "restricted." Let us examine each one of these four statements closely.

a) "...His over-emphasis on the negative contribution of the Turkish element in Anatolia...sometimes encourages one to take an opposite stand." She is referring to the major sections of chapter three, pps. 143-74, 244-59, where I trace the effects of repeated conquests and raids of Turkish armies and nomadic raiding groups. This section is based on an exhaustive examination of all the historical sources and there is no doubt that these invasions and ethnic nomadic migrations were both destructive and disruptive, far more so than any others that the Anatolia peninsula has experienced in historical times. It is a picture which emerges from the sources (of every type). I have allowed the sources to speak, and the two charts of destroyed, enslaved, massacred towns, villages and regions that I drew up on pp. 166-67 (this lists 128 for 11-12th centuries), 259, must be explained. Pantuckova has not explained them away, nor has she given any reason for rejecting this data except for the following: The information "...sometimes encourages one to take an opposite stand." The discipline of even a Byzantinologist does not allow, as a standard or vehicle of historical objectivity, a theory of contrariety which is based only on personal reaction and on no source examination or logic. The partial destructiveness and disruptiveness of the Turkish conquests and settlements in certain areas and periods is supported by some 350 footnotes that rely on a very wide variety of primary sources, and yet Pantuckova brushes aside all this without any reference to historical sources of any kind and by the application of a theory of contrariety that is surely subjective.

b) "And in the final chapter...he [Vryonis] refers to the Karamanli as Turkified Greeks, whereas in fact it would seem that they were Byzantinized Turks." I have amassed the evidence and presented the reasoning for my opinion on the origin of the Karamanlidhes on ten pages (452-62). My opinion may or may not be correct. It is, however, based on something more than a mere pronouncement. Pantuckova merely makes a pronouncement, without any supporting evidence. Such a pronouncement is worthless. In any case, if the opinion at which I have arrived is evidence of a "lack of objectivity," then she by extension also condemns Cahen for a "lack of objectivity," who in his review comes to the same decision as I do, p. 116: "Le cas le plus interéssant à étudier est celui de ces Karamanli, de religion et d'écriture 'grecques,' mais de langue turque, qu'on a dit des Turcs anciennement byzantinisés, mais qui sont plus probablement, comme le pense Speros Vryonis, des Byzantins linguistiquement turquisés."

c) "It is also difficult to judge the extent to which the nature of the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires were determined by Byzantine influence, while at the same time Vryonis seems to have ascribed a greater role to Byzantine traditions in the Osman [sic] empire than they actually had (for example the Irano-Islamic influence certainly had a dominating influence in the highest state institutions)." Evidently Pantuckova is one of several reviewers who does not understand English well. If one turns to p. 496 of my book one reads: "Turkish formal society in Anatolia bore essentially Islamic characteristics. The inseparable union of church and state, and their determination of all formal aspects of society, resulted in a state structure and cultural life that were Muslim. The sultanate, bureaucracy, Islamic church, literature, and much of art were Islamic." And again on p. 465: "The Seljuks and Ottomans derived their political and military establishments primarily from the Islamic world. Such institutions as the sultanate, vezirate, iqta, gulam, and others, were part of the state accoutrement the Turks acquired when they entered the Muslim world in the tenth and eleventh centuries." No responsible scholar can review a book without either understanding the language in which it is written, or else forgetting what it says and then condemn the author in such a manner. It is at best scholarly dereliction and irresponsibility, inasmuch as it conveys a false, dishonest picture of the author's statements and efforts.

d) "And although the relation between the Byzantine pronoia and the Osman [sic] timar has not yet been satisfactorily clarified, Vryonis sees a clear connection between them." Let us see what Vryonis actually says. I discuss the matter in some detail, 468-70 pointing out the many similarities, but I conclude: "It is very difficult to say whether all these facts (similarities) are anything more than coincidence and that the timar somehow derives from the Byzantine pronoia." In fact, I make no pronouncement on the subject beyond the fact that there are similarities. I do not "see a clear connection between them." But if we are to follow Pantuckova's line of reasoning, i.e. that the assertion of a clear connection between pronoia and timar demonstrates (on the part of the assertor) "...the point of view of a Byzantinologist" and that this "detracts from an objective evaluation," then what are we to say about Cahen and Menage, the one a Seljuk historian and the other a Turkologist, who are much more positive about the connections between pronoia and timar than I am. Cahen writes in his review, p. 116: "Nous savon mal encore quel rapport existe entre le timar et la pronoia: il y en a surement." Menage, 661, adduces further examples of similarities between the two systems. Are they, too, guilty of "the point of view of a Byzantinologist," and lacking "objective evaluation" because of their emphasis on the connection between the two institutions?

Pantuckova has attempted to establish, by this questionable method of misunderstanding and misrepresenting what I say, that I have a "Byzantine outlook" and that I do not perform an "objective evaluation." If anything, she has demonstrated the lack of objectivity in her own thought process as well as a very restricted outlook on scholarship generally, and on Byzantine and Turkish history more specifically.

The expression of opinions on my "outlook" or "prejudice" continues in the review of A. Hamdani but at a slightly different level. For him the "outlook" or "prejudice," the "bias" as he calls it, and which he finds in my work, derives from my undue reliance on Byzantine sources. Thus: "...Vryonis' uneven reliance on Byzantine sources poses some problems," and "exaggerated figures in Byzantine sources sap the strength of his argument..." And at the end of his review he then criticizes both Cahen and myself for prejudice: "Although one may agree with Cahen's judgment that Vryonis' work relies heavily on Byzantine sources and shows a certain Greek bias, it remains true that Cahen's lifelong devotion to and partiality for Turkish history and institutions dispose him to criticize Vryonis' work more harshly than it deserves." For Hamdani then there is a prejudice that is largely the result of what he calls "uneven reliance on Byzantine sources." First let us examine what he might mean by "uneven reliance." I have examined all relevant sources, whether they be Byzantine or not. It so happens that for the phenomenon of the decline of the Greek speaking-Greek Orthodox population the single largest body of source materials is in Greek. That is a given fact which I did not manufacture... but it is a fact. There are 133 Greek sources on the subject and so I utilized 133 Greek sources. The remaining 120 sources that I utilized include western (53), Muslim (52), eastern Christian and other (15). So that it is obvious that the Greek sources are as numerous, even a little more so, than all the remaining sources. It is the Greek sources, understandably, which are most interested in the conditions of the Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians and which contain the most information. The mass of the other sources have only a secondary interest in the subject, and sometimes no interest at all. By way of example the principal chronicles of the Rum Seljuks have very little interest in the conditions of their Christian subjects and only slightly more interest in the neighboring Byzantine polity. So in dressing the picture of the decline of Byzantine society, it is normal to seek the information in all the sources, but it is to be found, for the most part, in Greek sources. If by "uneven reliance" on Greek sources Hamdani means something quantitative, i.e. that I rely so heavily on the Greek sources, it is correct. But if what he means, and this is implicit in his tone, that the picture is thereby invalidated because only the Muslim sources, not the Greek sources, give the true picture, then it is rank assumption and he must go through and evaluate each and every source in order to validate his statement. My use of the sources is based on an evaluation of their reliability and in some cases I trust the sources, in other cases I do not. It is regrettable that we do not have more Muslim sources, but we do not, *fihi ma fihi*. Further, prior to the thirteenth century (and this pre-thirteenth century period is both long and very significant for the phenomenon being studied) there is no Rum Seljuk historiography or indeed any other local Seljuk source so that the Christian sources are absolutely essential and almost solitary. Second, Hamdani is disturbed by anything that might remotely suggest that Islam as a historical phenomenon was intolerant or destructive and his reaction to some of the basic arguments of the book are motivated by this basic "outlook" or "prejudice" on his part. Two or three examples from his review will suffice.

"Chapter III represents a painstaking collection of evidence on the devastation wrought by the Turks in Anatolia – a long story of the displacement of people by pillage, enslavement, and massacre. But in overemphasizing his case, Vryonis weakens it. Exaggerated figures in Byzantine sources sap the strength of the argument, although the havoc created by the Turkomans is a well-known fact, not only in Anatolia but also for Islamic lands." Hamdani admits that the destruction of Turkman nomadism is well known as a historical phenomenon, that the evidence has been painstakingly accumulated, and yet he finds the argument undermined because of the use of exaggerated figures in Byzantine sources. First, the sources are absolutely convincing that Turkman nomadism in periods of the history of parts of Anatolia was both destructive and disruptive. Both Muslim (which he fails to mention) and all other sources are unanimous on this point. Second, the Byzantine sources rarely mention specific numbers in this respect, but the table of over 125 towns, villages and regions devastated, besieged, or enslaved in the eleventh and up to the mid-twelfth century is seemingly incontrovertible evidence. Hamdani does not deal with this, and the lingering thought that something that ultimately is part of Islam could be destructive is disquieting for him.

He is much more exercised by the phenomenon of forced conversion. In the modern world of personal freedoms the lack of the freedom of religious choice is of course a negative condition, something with which one does not like, openly, to be associated. It is a sign of backwardness and in general it is said to be a "bad" thing. The forcible transformation of individuals from one set of religious beliefs to a foreign set of religious beliefs is therefore, according to common modern perception, tyrannical and "bad." So he comes to this subject inasmuch as it is discussed in the book.

"Vryonis makes much of forced conversion. No doubt there were such situations, but certainly it never was a universal phenomenon. The testimony of a later work, Danishmendname which Vryonis accepts, although unwillingly, in order to prove his point, is nothing but a poet's boast." I am afraid that Hamdani is very confused on this point, and his fear that forced conversion (a "bad" thing, as we understand) might be linked to Islam prevents him from a clear comprehension as to what my book says. I devoted approximately 55 pages to the phenomenon of religious conversion (of whatever type), i.e. pp. 176-79, 351-402. Nowhere do I state that it was "a universal phenomenon," as Hamdani fears. Second, forced conversion is discussed on only five of these pages (pp. 177-79, 341-42) so that 90% of the discussion deals with types of conversion other than forced. Further, I state (p. 179) "Conversion was no doubt motivated by a wide variety of factors which included material benefit and conversion by the sword." And on p. 342: "This is also implied more generally in some of the documents described previously and seems to indicate that conversion under duress, far from being unknown during the Turkish conquests of the fourteenth century, was certainly *one of the many factors* working for the diminution of the Christian communities." The language is clear: forced conversion was one, but simply one among many, of the varieties of conversion. I do not make of it a "universal phenomenon." But in Hamdani's eyes, even this modest attention to the phenomenon constitutes "making much of forced conversion" and it also constitutes for him an attempt to make of it a "universal phenomenon." Further, he states that "The testimony of a late work, Danishmendname which Vryonis accepts, although unwillingly, in order to prove his point, is nothing but a poet's boast." Again Hamdani is confused, has not read carefully what I say about the Danishmendname nor has he paid attention as to how I have used the text. Also, I do not utilize this text to prove that there was forced conversion (and I never set out to prove that it was a universal phenomenon), but I rely basically on other texts, and finally this text he says is a "late work." But he fails to say "late" in relation to what events and what times. As it exists it is a text written in the fourteenth century. But this is incidental. The fact is that I have relied on important contemporary texts (other than the Danishmendname) for the basic assertion that within the broad spectrum of Islamization there was also forced conversion. These authors include Raymund of Aguilers, Michael the Syrian, William of Tyre, the comments of Balsamon on the church canons, the decisions of the patriarchal synod, Kantakouzenos, Theophanes of Nikaia, Gennadios Scholarios, the Ottoman chronicler Ashikpashazade, Hans Dernschwamm for a later period, and a small number of hagiographical texts. So contrary to what Hamdani asserts in his review (i.e., that I accept the testimony of the Danishmendname in order to prove the existence of forced conversion) I have relied completely on other sources, contemporary, both Christian and Muslim to establish this fact. Then what I do assert is the fact that what is mentioned in the Danishmendname about the general atmosphere of conversion is affirmed by reliable contemporary sources. In fact on p. 177 I caution the reader: "It would be extremely difficult and hazardous to insist upon the exact historicity of such details in the Danishmendname, inasmuch as it is a poetic compilation of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." Hamdani has been very careless in his analysis and presentation of the contents of the book.

Finally, and with a certain sigh of relief, Hamdani states: "Even if the author succeeds in proving the terror of the Turks and the restrictions placed on the Christians, he fails to make a case for forcible dechristianization." Vryonis has failed to prove that Asia Minor was, *grosso modo*, forceably dechristianized. But as I have indicated above, I never set out to prove such a proposition, and the majority of the section on Islamization concentrates on the general historical conditions and the missionary zeal of Islamic institutions in converting the Christians "without force." It is significant in terms of the "outlook" or "prejudice" of Hamdani that he is obsessed with the phenomenon of forced conversion. He sees it even where it does not exist. And I conclude on this particular reviewer that though he has purported to identify the mutual prejudices of Vryonis and Cahen, he has, inadvertently, revealed his own prejudices, which are 1) unhistorical, 2) pietistic. His basic effort is to "protect" Islam against what he considers to be charges of destructiveness and intolerance. Finally, his understanding of and rendering of English and French scholarly writing is completely unreliable...he either does not have a good comprehension of these languages, or else he is a very careless reader. One last case by way of final example. "Cahen criticizes some of Vryonis' views in this regard. The Karamanlis, for example, are viewed by Vryonis as Turkicized Greeks, whereas Cahen calls them Byzantinized Turks." Let us see what Cahen says about the matter on p. 116 of his review. "Le cas le plus intéressant à étudier est celui de ces Karamanli, de religion et d'écriture 'grecques,' mais de langue turque, qu'on a dit des Turcs anciennement byzantinisés, mais qui sont plus probablement, comme le pense Speros Vryonis, des Byzantins linguistiquement turquisés." Hamdani cannot even reproduce, accurately, that which his secondary texts say. As far as any comprehensive analysis goes, how can one analyze that which he does not understand? Hamdani evidently does not sufficiently command English and French.

Thus for these three "Orientalists," Cahen, Pantuckova, and Hamdani, the author and his book are thrown in doubt because of a prejudice, outlook, or restriction which originates variously from his race (Greek), his discipline (Byzantinology), and his sources (Greek). In short, one would conclude, according to this mentality, that a person who is a Greek, or who is a Byzantinist, or who relies on Greek sources, cannot and should not undertake the writing of such a work, for his results are doomed to failure. And in my own case, where all three factors coincide, what is the reader to conclude? I am sorry to say that I have frequently encountered this mentality in the circle of "Orientalists." I would thus propose that among certain "Orientalists" there is in fact a "limited outlook" which precludes objective evaluation of the work of a person who comes to the task equipped in the particular manner in which I appeared. Fortunately the remaining "Orientalists" for the most part do not participate or share in such a limited outlook or prejudice. Menage relates, p. 659: "Vryonis has ransacked an enormous range of sources in search of hints that contribute to his picture, and his arguments are buttressed by liberal quotation in extensive footnotes, several of which amount to brief and valuable essays. Throughout he preserves an eirenic and dispassionate tone, which the Byzantinist sometimes finds difficult to maintain in dealing with the Turkish invasions, and his correctives to the chauvenistic excesses of some modern Turkish writers are always temperate..." Spuler, Kornrumpf, Wagner, and Werner do not, ever, call into question the matter of race, discipline, or sources.

It remains now to say something about specific criticisms of the Orientalist[6] reviewers of the book.

One should deal first with the review of Cahen, and within it deal with the specific criticisms. By and large he accepts the major theses of the book, though he does suggest a lesser modification of the very first thesis, to which I shall return presently. In fact most of his criticisms are "soft" and in the nature of suggesting certain nuances, nuances in most cases which he does not justify on the basis of source evidence but rather on the basis of impressions. This should be underlined for this is characteristic also of his treatment of almost every section in his book on the Seljuks, that deals with Byzantium. He begins, after his initial expressions about the fact that I am Greek, by expressing a regret that I had not been able to consult his book. "Malheureusement la publication a été retardée, avec le résultat regrettable qu'il se trouve que, depuis l'achèvement de la redaction, il a paru divers travaux (y compris, je m'en excuse, ma Preottoman Turkey), avec lesquelles la confrontation de celui-ci eût été mutuellement profitable." Since it is an observation raised also by Flemming in her review, and since she considers this a major shortcoming on my part I shall address myself to both their observations at this point. (Flemming, 169: "Zu bedauern ist, dass er nach Fertigstellung seines "basic writing" 1967 nicht die Möglichkeit fand, sich mit den danach erschienenen Arbeiten, besonders Cahens-fussnotenlosem-Pre-Ottoman Turkey, auseinanderzusetzen.")

I have since consulted his Pre-Ottoman Turkey. But in 370 pages of text there is not a single footnote referring to primary sources or secondary literature or indeed to anything else. The sections on non-Muslims are small, almost insignificant (pp. 202-15, 326-28). He has missed completely the general and detailed importance of the *Notitiae Episcoptuum* and the patriarchal acts of the fourteenth century, not to mention other sources. By and large his argument is to show that Greeks and Turks got along "well," without specific sources as a base for his position, in addition to which to set out to show that they got along well or badly is an erroneous setting of the problem and fits in with the general tone of this introductory remark in the first paragraph of the review. Further, there is no systematic and analytic description of Turkmen nomadism, which played such an important role in the decline of medieval Hellenism and in the Turkification of the peninsula. His grasp of the Greek sources is superficial at best (see his rejection of Attaliates as a major source for the battle of Manzikert) and erroneous in other cases. Thus on p. 433 in his bibliography under b) Greek Sources: "Some secondary sources (Prodromos, Theodore Balsamon, etc.) are indicated in Chalandon and Moravscik, Byzantinoturcica." It is not satisfactory and certainly not scholarly to refer so vaguely to them as secondary works...Balsamon certainly is not a "secondary" work, for he is the single most important source for the status of the Greek Church and Greek Christians in Seljuk Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth century. (See the following pages 201ff in my book.) He has missed most of the hagiographical texts, has misunderstood Attaliates (relying on the erroneous Latin translation). The secondary bibliography (since both he and certain others criticize my lack of a bibliography at the end of my book) is spotty, uneven, and in many cases superficial. While it is true that I found his book full of data, it was largely data which does not alter the structure of my book, the theses, and certainly in terms of the subject I have treated there is very little in Cahen, and even that very little is frequently propounded in ignorance of the sources I have used. Certain of the reviewers point out to the fact that indeed there is no fundamental overlap of the two books because we have treated basically two different subjects, Cahen treated the Seljuks and the beyliks, I treated the decline of the Greek-speaking Christian population and its Islamization. Finally it should be noted that I utilized 26 articles of Cahen,[7] in which all the basic structural ideas, and much of the data of the book are given. In short, I did not find the reading of the book any great revelation as to his ideas on the Seljuks-beyliks, as I had already encountered them in the 26 articles.

There is a second minor vein of nuanced criticism that runs throughout Cahen's review. According to him I have not given enough attention to the non-Greek Christian population of Asia Minor. Cahen, p. 113: "Raisonnant en byzantiniste, l'auteur, s'il n'ignore naturellement ni les Armeniens, ni les Syriaques monophysites, ni d'autres groups, s'occupe tout de meme beaucoup moins d'eux que des éléments grecs ou grécisés..." Then on pp. 113-14 he returns to this theme: "L'auteur n'ignore naturellement pas les hostilités ethnico-confessionelles qui se sont accrûes au cours du XIe siècle, mais il ne semble pas qu'il souligne assez explicitement les responsabilités de l'Eglise byzantine tracassière, etc." He also adds that the information that I amass is more complete for the Christian side than for the Muslim.

All three of these observations are in a sense beside the point for I did not set out to write a complete history of all of Asia Minor, or of the Seljuks, or of the Syriac and Armenian religious groups. I set out to write the history of the fate of the Greek-speaking Christians. So if I pointed out the differences in the status of Greeks, Armenians and Syrian Monophysites it is sufficient. The remaining task will be the work of specialists in Armenian and Syriac, and that for the Turks has now been done by O. Turan[8] (whose work is far more detailed and based on a more profound knowledge of the primary sources, with necessary documentation, than is Cahen's). At every necessary step I have pointed out the different situations of the Syriac and Armenian Christians, whether under Byzantine or under Turkish rule (see pp. 198-99).

Then Cahen really brings opposition to only one of the major theses, the first, i.e. that Asia Minor on the eve of the Turkish invasions had evolved as a relatively well Hellenized area or as Cahen himself understands it: "Pour Vryonis un sentiment soutend toute l'étude: quelles qu'aient été les mérites de l'Islam turc, le caractère grec de l'Asie Mineure était assez solide pour n'avoir pas été condamné par lui-même, et pour que par consequent le déhellénisation/déchristianisation ait été l'oeuvre de circonstances extérieures ..." He thus begins with statements calculated at eroding to a certain degree the extent of Hellenization in Asia Minor. He attributes something to me which I do not say. Cahen, p. 113: "Quoi qu'il en soit, pour Vryonis l'Asie Mineure était encore dans son ensemble un pays grec/byzantin et un pays peuplé et prospère, tant dans les villes que dans les campagnes." And then he attempts to lessen this Hellenism by saying (apropos of the Syrians and Armenians) that Vryonis "s'occupe moins d'eux que des éléments grecs ou grécisés dont on peut se demander s'il n'exagère pas un peu l'extension." In effect he misattributes to me the first statement for nowhere in the book do I say that "l'Asie Mineure était encore dans son ensemble un pays grec/byzantin." I am very careful about the matter, as on p. 42 I state: "The dominant language of western, central and eastern Anatolia to the confines of Cappadocia was Greek, and the dominant religion was that of the Greek or Byzantine church. In the regions of Anatolia east of Cappadocia this Greek element, though present, was very weak in comparison with the non-Greek elements." This is repeated elsewhere and especially in the latter part of chapter one where I show the alteration of this ethnic picture under the impact of the Armenian migrations of the eleventh century. See also p. 53: "It was, however, the eastern regions of Byzantine Anatolia which contained the majority of the non-Greek populations – Kurds, Georgians, Lazes, Syrians, and Armenians." Thus Cahen having, falsely, set up the straw man (i.e. that I assert that Anatolia was completely Greek) he then proceeds to the futile exercise of demolishing this straw man by showing that there were Armenians and Syrians, a fact which I point out in great detail in the book.

He proceeds in trying to erode the first thesis, i.e. that Asia Minor was the seat of a vital Byzantine or medieval Greek culture and society. Cahen, p. 113: "D'autre part, si l'on accorde volontiers que beaucoup de secteurs de l'Asie Mineure gardaient une prospérité et une population que le voyageur a peine à imaginer devant les paysages modernes, tout de même Vryonis se débarasse un peu cavalièrement, semble-t-il de la question des invasions arabes. Certes elles n'ont qu'exceptionellement et temporairement atteint toute l'Asie Mineure; mais en Asie Mineure centrale, elles ont duré jusqu'au IXe siècle, soit plus de deux siècles, et au milieu du Xe, au temps de Sayf ad-Daula." Cahen admits that there was some prosperity and that the Arab invasions were not destructive everywhere. Nevertheless he is indulging in hypothesis as to the long-term effects of the Arab raids. They did cease in the ninth century and after a temporary reprise under Sayf ed-Daula they ceased for some three-quarters of a century. Society recovers relatively quickly, and Cahen knows the Seljuk parallels and the Ottoman ones as well. Nevertheless he states that as of the mid-eleventh century Asia Minor was considerably less prosperous than I state because of the Arab razias. My answer is simple. Once again I prefer the testimony of the entirety of the eleventh century sources (not only Greek) to the conjectures of Cahen. The sources, for the most part, present a region which by the standards of *that* day (Cahen commits an anachronism in the beginning of his observation on this section: "D'autre part, si l'on accorde volontiers que beaucoup de secteurs de l'Asie Mineure gardaient une prosperité et une population que le voyageur a peine à imaginer devant les paysages modernes...") "flourished" economically, both in rural and urban domains. Commerce, crafts and agriculture are all plentifully in evidence, and large numbers of towns and prosperous villages are mentioned by the sources. All this evidence is supported by the copious sources and references in the numerous footnotes. Thus three to four generations of freedom from Arab raids (and even longer periods for many regions) had allowed recovery from whatever devastation the Arab razias had wrought. While we are on the subject it is curious that many of the Orientalists stress the destructiveness of the Arab razias (which consisted of small bands of raiders who came very briefly and usually fled upon the first evidence of Byzantine counter attacks), whereas they minimize the destructiveness of Turkmen nomadism, a phenomenon in which entire tribes came to raid and to stay and who raided and pillaged constantly. Thus in this particular aspect of the book the Orientalists often contradict themselves. So Cahen in his own book, *Pre-*

Ottoman Turkey, p. 156, says that Anatolia revived from the devastations of the nomads: "In any event after the passing of a few generations the picture entirely changes."

Cahen suggests that the existence of the large landed estates further testifies to the non-prosperous state of the peninsula. It testifies to an imbalance in land relations, but it does not at all testify to the decline of agriculture for these large landowners exploited their land holdings for the town markets. In his own book the existence of Muslim large landowners is not taken as an indication that Seljuk Anatolia had declined economically.

Thus Cahen does not deny the Hellenism of substantial parts of the peninsula nor does he deny all of its prosperity, but he does attempt to limit them somehow. In the case of limiting Hellenism, in effect he has disposed of the problem as we saw above, and in the case of prosperity he has no knowledge whatever of the relevant primary sources.

Apropos of the invasions themselves he criticizes me for passing over in silence the acritai and ghazis, and the military technology and tactics of the Turks. Cahen, p. 113: "Je suis étonné d'autre part du silence à peu près complet gardé sur la question pourtant si vigoureusement posée par P. Wittek des akritai et de leurs correspondants musulmans ghazis et autres, c'est à dire de la constitution dans une zone frontalière assez profonde, d'une population qui n'était plus à vrai dire ni tout-à-fait 'romaine' ni tout-à-fait musulmane au sens que donnaient à ces mots les gouvernements centraux et qui par conséquent détermine une sorte de perméabilité dont pourront profiter les envahisseurs nouveaux." P. 114: "Par ailleurs, parmi les facteurs externes de la conquête, on n'étudie pas, bien que cela ait été fait récemment (Kaegi et autres) la technique guerrière: armées légères, toujours prêtes, se saufialant n'importe ou contre armée lourde, difficile à mobiliser et à ravitailler, cantonnée dans des places-fortes espacées, tactique de la fuite simulée, supériorité de l'archerie turque à cheval sur les correspondants sédentaires (aussi bien musulmans que byzantins), etc."

Cahen himself (pp. 64-65 of his book) says very little about the relations of ghazis-acritai, indeed little more than I myself say on the subject (pp. 136, 273n.), and further what he does say in both the book and the review is based on old generalities and on no reference to the specific sources for the eleventh and later centuries. Indeed the Wittek thesis was of interest and stimulus some two generations ago, but only as a tool to stimulate further discussion. To accept it as an established fact and then to apply it here and there to different periods and areas is erroneous methodologically. In fact it explains nothing about the cultural transformation of Asia Minor which in any event was not a border phenomenon. Second there is singularly little evidence for the acritai in the eleventh century except the fact that beginning with Constantine IX Monomachos the border levies were transformed into tax paying units and they were dissolved militarily. In any case many of these would have been not "romains" as Cahen says, but Armenians. As for the neglect of military technology and tactics these are all mentioned throughout the work where relevant, and in greatest detail at the battles of Manzikert and Myriokephalon. One need only look at the text. Further there is nothing to indicate, contrary to both Kaegi and Cahen, that Byzantine archery was one whit inferior. The details of the battle of Manzikert (unfortunately and erroneously Cahen has rejected the 30-page account of Attaliates, the only eyewitness account of the battle) shows clearly that the issue was determined not by archery and not by Turkish tactics. But it was determined by the treachery of Andronikos Doukas who abandoned the emperor and his troops on the field of battle allowing them to be surrounded and cut off after the Turks had occupied the surrounding heights. As for archery, Attaliates 158 relates that on the eve of the battle, when the Turks had surrounded Romanos IV's encampment and subjected it to an archery attack and there was danger that the mounted Turks would break into the camp, the Byzantine archers marched out and with their shooting broke up the attacks, forced the Turks to retire and saved Romanos IV that evening. Here as in other cases I have relied on specific data of firsthand sources which Cahen either ignores or rejects.

Cahen largely accepts chapters and theses two, three, four and five and says nothing about the sixth chapter. He objects to my characterization of the Seljuk armies as multi-ethnic (but I have only followed the basic Seljuk chronicle, Ibn-Bibi-Duda, pp. 97, 219-20, 223, 227-30, and many other sources who list the pressence in the Seljuk armies of Turks, Arabs, Persians, Georgians, Armenians, Russians, Franks, and Greeks), and complains that I do not indicate the importance of the Persian elements in the towns.

First, I am not writing a history of the Seljuk state and society, and so the importance of the Persians (which I do not underestimate) is not of immediate interest. Nevertheless I note the presence and importance of the Persians in the circle of Rumi and the Mevelevi order, in the Seljuk court, administration, army, literature, pp. 232, 282, 311, 468.

Whereas he seems to agree *grosso modo* with the last chapter and the seventh thesis he makes the following nuance (Cahen, p. 116):

"La question des traditions byzantines dans les institutions ottomanes a été passionément discutée. Il ne me semble pas que Vryonis distingue avec une netteté suffisante les institutions supérieures de l'Etat, où domine incontestablement la tradition irano-islamique (avec des apports turcs et des innovations), et les couches inférieures de l'économie et de la societé où, plus clairement à la campagne qu'en ville, se retrouve la tradition byzantine." Again one wonders how well Cahen understands English or how well he remembers what he has read. On p. 465 of my book the reader will find the following: "The Seljuks and Ottomans derived their political and military establishments primarily from the Islamic world. Such institutions as the sultanate, vezirate, iqta, gulam, and others were part of the state accoutrement the Turks acquired when they entered the Muslim world in the tenth and eleventh centuries." On p. 475: "The economic life of the Seljuks and Ottomans, except for the nomadic sector, was very heavily indebted to the economic forces and forms of the Christian populations." It seems to me that the two statements, as well as the entire accompanying discussion which covers many pages in the book, distinguish "avec une netteté suffisante."

To finish with Cahen, he leaves basically untouched the seven major theses, his attempt to qualify quantitatively the first thesis is stillborn because of either a misquoting of the book or a misunderstanding, and the same holds true for his observation on the seventh chapter. By and large his specific criticisms have consisted of conjecture and these do not stand against the testimony of the primary sources.

The longest of the reviews is certainly that of B. Flemming but it shares very heavily in the disapprovals expressed by Cahen and is largely devoted to an analysis of the use of sources in my book. To this Flemming adds a few disparate criticisms. She begins, as did Cahen and Hamdani, by attempting to characterize my outlook and that of the book. Flemming, p. 165-66: "Er zeigt sich als Verfechter eines zentral regierten Anatolien, der Perioden uneinheitlicher Herrschaft negative beurteilt; mehr noch als die etwa gleichwichtige Aufteilung Anatoliens zwischen Nikaia und Konya begrüsst Vr., die 'Wiedervereinigung' (so mehrfach: reunification) Anatoliens unter den Osmanen, die für die orthodoxe Kirche glücklichere Bedingungen geschaffen habe (z.B., 448). Vr. scheint somit im Gegensatz zu Cl. Cahen die 'vorosmanische' Turkei gewissermassen als Vorstufe zum Osmanischen Reich zu betrachten." Flemming sees in me a "champion" or "advocate" of a unified Anatolia because it produced better conditions for the Greek church. In no place in the book do I *advocate* the reunification of Anatolia, nor do I advocate, in the sense of championing, any other political or military activity. This is an unconscionable, perhaps unconscious, distortion on the part of Flemming. I have set out to analyze, historically, the factors which lead to the decline of medieval Hellenism and the process of Islamization, not to advocate a political program, which in any case would make no sense as a scholarly exercise in the reconstruction of the historical past, and certainly even less sense in terms of modern political propaganda. The fact that proliferation of political entities and splinter states took place in various periods is a central fact in the conditions affecting the stability of Byzantine society in Asia Minor. Flemming's failure to perceive this speaks volumes for her lack of historical insight and grasp.

The major portion of her criticism constitutes an effort to demonstrate that I do not know how to use primary sources in the process of historical analysis. She attempts to demonstrate this by touching certain specific historical themes treated in the book and by her observations on my use of Chalkokondyles, the Ottoman sources, Ibn Battuta, Aqsarayi, Eflaki. Let us examine what she has to say, since any doubts raised about a scholar's use of sources are of course fundamental. The first instance in which she raises the problem of the use of sources has to do with the sections which I have dedicated to Turkmen nomadism. I have found, in the book, that it was the Turkmen-nomadic aspect of the Turkish-settlemen-conquests which proved to be the most violent and the most disruptive of Byzantine society in several Anatolian areas, and this particularly bothers Flemming. Thus, she sets out to discredit this part of the book. She begins, p. 167:

"Dass die stärkste ethnische Türkisierung Anatoliens von der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jhs. an einsetzt, hat Vr. zum Schreiben eines Unterkapitels 'The Nomads' (258-285) angeregt, einer Kompilation über 'Turco-Mongol society' (260), der man die Herkunft aus höchst disparater Sekundärliterature ansieht, und mit der man in Einzelheiten keinesfalls übereinstimmen kann."

To begin with, there is a misunderstanding on Flemming's part. I was not moved to write a description of nomadism because "... die stärkste ethnische Türkiesierung Anatoliens von der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jhs. an einsetzt." I was moved to do it because it was one of the primary factors in the decline of medieval Hellenism and in the process of Turkification, not because there was a change beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century. My description of this nomadism covers the eleventh and twelfth century as well. Second, I did not set out to write "einer Kompilation über 'Turco-Mongol society' (260)." What I say on p. 260 is: "It is not at all surprising that the details of Anatolian tribal life which emerge here and there in the contemporary sources agree with the general descriptions of Turco-Mongol society in Central Asia, which such authorities as Ibn Fadlan, al-Marwazi, and William of Rubruque have preserved. Obviously, there were differences among the various Turkic groups in Asia, but one should recall that the settlement of Anatolia was not exclusively the work of any one tribal group or sub-group." What I have set out to do is to give an analytical description of contemporary Anatolian nomadism, with parallels drawn from the central Asiatic Turco-Mongol society. Thus Flemming has misperceived the structure and the purpose of this section. She further errs when she speaks of "einer Kompilation über 'Turco-Mongol society'...der man die Herkunft aus höchst disparater Sekundärliterature ansieht, und mit der man in Einzelheiten keinesfalls übereinstimmen kann." She thus states that the analysis of the nomads is a compilation derived out of a highly disparate *secondary literature*, and so one cannot agree with it in details. This is an extraordinary statement for someone who has supposedly read the book sufficiently closely to review it. This section on nomadism is based, *completely*, on contemporary, primary sources. I have utilized 54 primary sources in this section in order to dress an analytical picture of this society, and it is the first sustained effort to do so. The account of Gorlevsky is based on fewer sources and sources from later times. In any case the data and sources are recorded in a long series of footnotes, 713-801, which accompany pp. 258-86. Either Flemming is unaware of this or else she considers these 54 sources as "Sekundärliteratur"! These primary, contemporary sources include the following:

Metochites
Kinnamos
Niketas Choniates
Planudes
Panaretos
Nikephoros Gregoras
Matthew of Ephesos
Anna Komnena
John Kantakouzenos
Chalkokondyles
Attaliates
Pachymeres
Prodromos
Eustathios
Euthymios Tornikes

Ludolph of Suchem
Joseph Barbaro
Muntaner
Vincentio Allesandri
Salimbene
Brocquiere
De Clavijo
Historia Peregrinorum
Gesta Federici
Angiolello
Chronicle of Morea
Caterino Zeno
Schiltberger
Marco Polo
William of Rubrucque
Ricoldo de M. Crocis
John of Pian Carpini
Paul Lucas
Arnold von Harff

Maqdisi
al-Umari
Ibn Khaldun
Ibn Battuta
Ibn Fadlan
Ibn al Athir
Sharaf al Din Yazdi
Aqsarayi
Ibn Bibi-Duda
Juwayni-Boyle
Marwazi
Qabus Nama
Eflaki-Huart
Danishmendname
Vilayetname of Haji Bektash
Ashikpashazade

Bar Hebraeus
Matthew of Edessa
Michael Syrian
Brosset-Georgie

Because the thesis of Turkman-nomadic destructiveness disturbs Flemming, she continues on the subject, this time attempting to bring the voice of authority (Cahen) to her succour. Flemming, p. 167:

"Klar ist Vr.'s Überzeugung von der besonders zerstörerischen Rolle der Türkmenen bei der Inbesitznahme Anatoliens (s. dagegen das abwägende Urteil Claude Cahens; *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, S. 34 f, 155 f.)." Instead of dealing with the material and primary sources (the 54 primary sources I have listed above, plus others) which come from Greeks, Latins, Syrians, Armenians, Crusaders, Arabs, Turks and Persians and which testify copiously to this type of behavior in nomadic society in Anatolia, Flemming prefers to refer the reader to a secondary work (the very fact with which she reproaches me) as the only evidence for the falsity of my view. But if one reads Cahen carefully he discovers that he simply confirms what I have to say about the subject. Cahen, pp. 155-56: "If the chronicles of the First Crusade convey an impression of devastation in the interior of Asia Minor, the fact remains that, on the contrary, travellers who saw it in the thirteenth century brought back a recollection of prosperity, by the standards of their time. In large measure it was clearly a prosperity that had been restored. However the first Turcoman invasion must not be given the credit for the results which possibly it did not produce. It is true that the Turcomans killed, drove out or enslaved a fair number of peoples, in relation to what population there was, and this could not fail to lead, among other things, to the abandoning of much cultivated land and neglect in the upkeep of irrigation systems." Though he tries to alleviate the degree of destruction by saying that Asia Minor previously was not much better off (a statement which as we saw runs counter to all sources), Flemming's secondary authority agrees with what I have said about the destructiveness of the Turkmens, and which even Hamdani accepts. Thus far Flemming has not only ignored the vast body of source materials, she also misquotes her main secondary source.

She attempts to invalidate the picture I have drawn by a further and curious inconsistancy. She says that I have not used primary sources, and then presents a new argument according to which the sources I have used are employing loci communes, topoi. It would be an extraordinary coincidence if some 50 or 60 sources, in various languages and from various cultural milieus had all used literary topoi exclusively, to describe the nomads. In fact they have not. All the circumstances surrounding the incidents they describe are realistic in detail, and where one of them (Metochites) is indulging in topoi I so comment. Flemming has discounted all the sources, sight unseen, as utilizing topoi. She must examine each and every one, as I did, in order to determine whether they are referring to reality or to literary exercises unconnected with any reality. Further, these sources connect the nomads with the specific raiding and destruction of specific towns, villages, and regions, a specificity which has no part in topoi literature.

Finally she finds particularly distasteful the reference to the possible existence of remnants of shamanistic human sacrifice among some of these tribes. She attempts to dispose of this also by charging that I have ignored the character of topoi employed by Chalkokondyles and by misrepresenting what my primary sources for presenting this evidence are.

Flemming, p. 167: "Vr. glaubt, dass bei den Osmanen ein alter asiatischer Totenkul, Überrest nomadischer Praxis, *geherrscht* habe, das Menschopfer. Hier...stützt er sich vor allem auf die Behauptung Chalkokondyles', Murad II habe auf der Peloponnes 'seinem verstorbenen Vater' sechshundert griechische Sklaven geopfert. Mit den herodoteischen Topoi, die bei Chalk. nachwiesbar sind (Moravcsik), setzt sich Vr. nicht auseinander." First, I do not say that it prevailed among the Ottomans ("bei den Osmanen... geherrscht habe"). I speak of "...the survival of human sacrifice in the cult of the dead" (p. 273, n. 765). Second, I do not rely only, or primarily, on Chalkokondyles, but on the account of John Kantakouzenos, P.G., 154,545, who is very specific about the details, had obviously seen it in the course of his long association with Turkish troops, and who erroneously thought it to be an Islamic practice. Finally, it is all too easy to dismiss everything one does not want to accept in a source by saying that it is a literary topos. Now Kantakouzenos gives this description, and it is a comparatively detailed description which is not taken from Herodotos, nor is Chalkokondyles', in a polemical treatise against Islam. There are common topoi in these religious polemics, but they do not derive from pagan Greek authors, and the subject of human sacrifice is not to be found in the *topoi koinoi* of this religious polemic. I have read the entirety of this vast polemical literature (Flemming does not know this literature at all) and nowhere else does the subject of human sacrifice by Turks appear. I am afraid that the text is speaking about a real event and condition. Ultimately one cannot, as has Flemming, reject texts (which she has not read and whose essence she does not even know) on the grounds of literary manufacture. Further, as I have shown in my article on Chalkokondyles, "Laonicus Chalcocondyles and the Ottoman Budget," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 7 (1976), 423-32, he had a real and exact knowledge about many fifteenth century Ottoman institutions. Finally, these two texts, without any seeming connection between them, confirm one another and the existence of the phenomenon. It should be added that the French scholar, J.P. Roux, has studied the phenomenon of human sacrifice among the peoples of Central Asia in the Middle Ages, and found ample evidence for its existence (*La mort chez les peuples* *altaïques anciens et médievaux* [Paris, 1963]).

In another section of her review Flemming, p. 168, asserts that I make generalizations without grounds. "Vr. ist geneigt, diesen Schrumpfungsprozess den anatolischen Emiraten zur Last zu legen, bei denen er, ohne Gründe zu nennen, eine unduldsamere Haltung gegenüber Christen vermutet als bei den Seldschuken (311)." Here is what I say on p. 311. "It would also seem, though this is admittedly a difficult subject upon which to generalize, that the various beys were frequently less tolerant toward the Christians than had been the Seljuk sultans. We have already seen the mixed cultural milieu of the court at Konya, its strong Persian flavor, and its tolerance in all matters. The beyliks on the other hand were associated more with the ghazi traditions as interpreted by the Turkmen tribes." I admit a certain difficulty in the generalization, but am nevertheless convinced of it on the basis of the entire documentation of the fourteenth century. This is an extensive documentation, covers much of Asia Minor, and testifies to the expulsion of bishops and clergy, confiscation of property and cases of forced conversion and martyrdom. The material is documented extensively on pp. 288-350, and in 288 footnotes. Flemming need only refer to the text and notes to see that I base this statement on the accumulated effect of these sources.

In her general attack on my use of the sources (or in those cases where she mistakenly asserts that I did not use sources) she then comes to what she considers specific misuses or abuses of the sources and to which I now wish to turn. Thus she accuses me, more than once, of the anachronistic use of sources (though in the beginning she says that my description of nomadism relies not on primary sources but on secondary literature).

Flemming, p. 169: "Zu kritikieren ist, dass er sich (im Gegensatz zu Cahens Mahnung) nicht immer strikt an die zeitgenössischen Quellen hält und gelegentlich nicht Zusammengehöriges vermengt, z. B. osmanischen Register in die Beschreibung seldschukischer Verhältnisse einbezieht." I have nowhere in the book utilized Ottoman statistics to establish conditions under the Seljuks. Her misstatement is so gross, in the face of what the text does say, that I must doubt either her scholarly sense or her integrity. The section to which she refers deals with the nomads, and for this I have used only sources which are contemporary to the particular period I mention. In footnote 725, pp. 262-63, I reproduce the statistics which Barkan gives for the sixteenth century, to show what it was like in sixteenth century Ottoman empire, not under the Seljuks. I specifically state that they apply to two periods in the sixteenth century: 1520-30, 1570-80.

Then she argues that I use Ibn Battuta anachronistically. Flemming, pp. 169-70: "Es ist bedenklich, Ibn Battuta, der 1332-34 in Anatolien reiste, für die Verhältnisse im byzantinischen Anatolien vor 1071 heranzuziehen (S. 11, 14, 20; übrigens zu Ephesos; Ibn Battuta besuchte das nicht identisches Aya Suluq). Unbeschadet des diesbezüglichen Forschungsstandes benutzt Vr. Ibn Battutas Hörensagenbericht über die Räuber namens Garmiyan mit einer gewissen Hartnäckigkeit immer wieder dazu, um die betreffende Gegend als 'infested with brigands' hinzustellen. . . bei welcher Gelegenheit Vr. den von Gibb übernommenen Text S. 257 und 311 merklich ändert, desgleichen S. 248, wo er 'Turkmens' und die Stelle der bei Gibb stehenden 'robbers' setzt."[9]

Again Flemming is very careless in attributing to me an anachronistic use of a source, in this case Ibn Battuta, specifically referring to what I say on pp. 11, 14, and 20 of my book. Let us see exactly what I do say there and how it is that I use Ibn Battuta.

The information of the eleventh century sources and early twelfth century say that Ephesos was fertile. "Its plain was fertile, well watered, and the nearby sea was a rich fishing ground." Then in footnote 39, I refer to the contemporary Russian Abbot Daniel who had visited the area. At the end of the note I refer to Ibn Battuta who "noted it to be *still* well watered and that the vine was cultivated." Thus I do not attribute what Ibn Battuta was saying about Ephesos as applying to the eleventh century, but to his own time.

On p. 14 I speak of Attaleia in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. Then in footnote 67 I say "*In the period* of Ibn Battuta-Gibb, II, 418, there were Latins, Jews, Greeks, and Muslims in the city." Thus I say that this applies not to the eleventh century but "in the period of Ibn Battuta."

On p. 20 I speak of Ikonion in the eleventh century. In note 110 I say "When Ibn-Battuta-Gibb, II, 430, visited it in the first half of the fourteenth century it was still an impressive town, but it soon declined." Again, I state clearly that what Ibn Battuta says has to do with the fourteenth and not the eleventh century.

Taking as an example these three uses of Ibn Battuta in my text, where I carefully state that what he describes applies to his own period, the fourteenth century and not to the eleventh century, it is obvious that I use Ibn Battuta correctly and not anachronistically. Once more I must ask what prompts Flemming to accuse me of attributing what Ibn Battuta says to the eleventh instead of to the fourteenth century. It is once more a matter on her part of not being able to understand English or else of a questionable motive, or else of carelessness.

Then she shifts to my use of the Persian chronicle of Aqsarayi. She points out at first that I use this chronicle from the Turkish translation of Gençosman and Uzluk and that I do so on occasions carelessly for on p. 247 I have written Ibn Budin instead of Ibn Bugdin, and Saraf Hisar instead of Seferhisar. I am guilty on all three counts. I do not read Persian (though I do read the other sources, i.e. Turkish and Arabic; she implies that I do not read the latter). But how does that affect what I have to say? Having gotten that out of the way she then proceeds: "Vr. macht nicht genügent klar, dass Aqsarāyī, den er gern 'Aksaray' nennt, nicht Seldschukenchronist ist wie Ibn Bibi, sondern der Chronist der Mongolenzeit in Anatolien...und dass Aqsarāyī 1323 für den exzentrischen Timurtash schreibt."

On p. 224 I write: "Karim al-Din Mahmoud, a contemporary of the event he describes, relates that the Mongol governor of Anatolia, Timurtas, found the clothing and hat of the Jews and Christians to be undistinguished from those of the Muslims." It is clear, I think, that I make of Aqsarayi (Karim al-Din Mahmoud) a contemporary of Timurtash.

Further, note p. 464 I write: "The fourteenth century tax official and chronicler Karim al-Din Mahmoud of Aksaray..." I should have thought that both statements were "genügend klar, dass Aqsarāyī...nicht Seldschukenchronist ist wie Ibn Bibi, sondern der Chronist der Mongolenzeit in Anatolien." All of this is really irrelevant, for I am not writing a history of the historiography of that period. Second, I have used a Turkish translation because I do not read Persian. But it is incumbent upon the reviewer to show 1) that the specific passages I have used are erroneously translated by Gençosman and 2) that the overall picture of conditions which I have drawn from this source is in error. She has done neither. Finally Cahen has himself relied on the translations of certain sources, and for this he is not castigated, though in the case of the Greek sources the translations have led him into serious errors.

She next accuses me of applying a section of Aqsarayi's chronicle anachronistically to the Seljuk period. It is a section which discusses the so-called restrictions supposedly imposed by the Umayyad caliph Umar on Christians and Jews. According to Aqsarayi Timurtash wanted to impose the restrictions on the minorities of Anatolia. Further, Aqsarayi writes that Timurtash was conforming to the advice Ibn Arabi had given to the Seljuk sultan Kaykaus I (1211-1220) about one century or more earlier.

She writes apropos of this: "Es ist gewagt, diesen Abschnitt ' Aksarays' auch nur versuchsweise auf die Seldschukenzeit zurückprojizieren." If she had read carefully what I write on pp. 224-25, she would have seen clearly that I was not projecting backward in time events of the fourteenth to the thirteenth century.

First I clearly state: "It is very difficult to ascertain to what degree the restrictions that, according to tradition, the Umayyad caliph Umar had imposed on Christians and Jews, were applied by the Turks in Anatolia in the earlier period. There seems to be no doubt that from the beginning of the fourteenth century restrictions attributed to Umar were being applied to the Christians of Anatolia in regard to dress." Thus I have clearly distinguished between the fourteenth century and the earlier period. Second, Aqsarayi states that Timurtash imposed such restrictions in the early fourteenth century. Then I relate what Aqsarayi says: "Karim al-Din (Aksarayi) noted that the Mongol governor was thus conforming to the advice the great shaikh Ibn Arabi had given the Sultan Kaykaus I (1211-1220)." Thus I report what Aqsarayi says about the advice of Ibn Arabi to Kaykaus. I do not say that it was applied, because as I stated in the above paragraph it is difficult to ascertain this.

But what Flemming seemingly is unaware of and has failed to note from my footnote 485 on p. 225 is that the Arabic text of Ibn Arabi's advice to Kaykaus exists independently of the text of Aqsarayi, in Ibn Arabi's *Futuhat*. So the text is a genuine source of the thirteenth century and not possibly a later fabrication of Aqsarayi as Miss Flemming seems to imply. In short my use of Aqsarayi has not been anachronistic, and it has been cautious. And as Cahen states in his book on p. 57 (in contrast to Flemming's statement), it is a very important source for the decline of the Seljuk state, "of especial importance down to 1293, but reaching the beginning of the fourteenth century."

Then follows the charge of inconsistancy when I interpret certain terms in Aqsarayi and elsewhere. "Inkonsequent ist Vr., wenn er einerseits behauptet, Firenk und Frenkistan würden häufig von muslimischen Autoren für Griechen und griechisches Territorium verwendet (S. 378 A), und anderseits Aqsarāyî bezichtigt, fälschlich den Terminus Frank auch Griechen angewandt zu haben (234 A)."

The reference is to Vilyetname-Gross, 119-20. But this is precisely the point. Aqsarayi calls Maurozomes (a well-known Greek aristocrat who was an official at the Seljuk court) a Frank; and he calls the empire of Nikaia the land of the Franks, while it was in reality the land of the Greeks.

Further she charges: "Wenn Vr. behauptet Rūmî bezeichne am häufigsten Griechen und nur gelegentlich "people of Anatolia" (388 A), verallgemeinerter den frühen Gebrauch dieses Wortes in irreführender Weise."

On p. 388, note 108, I indicate the sources for this statement: Eflaki, Ibn Bibi, Marwazi, Evliya Chelebi, and that usually in designating ethnic, as in contrast to geographic, origins, Greeks are usually called Rum, Armenians Arman, and Turks either Turk or Muslim. It is not enough for Flemming to pontificate that it is not thus and so. She must support her assertions by texts.

She continues: "Aqsarāyîs Bemerkung über die Umstellung der Diwansprache von Arabischen zum Persischen unter dem Sāhib Fahraddîn 'Alî (S. 64 der Ed), von Vr. 464 f. unbesehen übernommen, war schon von. O. Turan eingeschränkt und ist jetzt von Cahen neuerdings diskutiert worden."

Inasmuch as Aqsarayi was a Seljuk official with an intimate knowledge of the taxes in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, he is obviously an important source for such matters. Indeed his chronicle is full of important details on taxation in Anatolia. Thus I have not simply adapted the information "unbesehen." And as for Cahen's "newer discussion" of the subject, Cahen on pp. 346-347 states: "The Arabic documents which provided the basis for the calculation of taxation were translated into Persian for Fakhr al Din 'Ali." Certainly there is nothing new about Cahen's statement and it is certainly not long enough to constitute a "discussion" as Flemming alleges, and it is as "unbesehen" an adaptation of the text as my own on pp. 464-465.

She then finds my use of the hagiographic text of Eflaki objectionable, that is to say I have given too much importance to it and I have utilized the French translation of the Persian text instead of the Persian text itself or else the Turkish translation of T. Yazĭcĭ, *Ariflerin Menkibeleri* (Ankara, 1953-54), adding that Köprülü had made certain critical comments about the Huart translation. I was through the force of circumstances (I do not read Persian and I had no copy of the Yazĭcĭ translation) forced to utilize the Huart translation. It is curious that though Cahen has also utilized the Huart translation, Flemming does not find this reprehensible in his case. He utilized it in his article "Sur les traces des premiers Ahkis," *Fuad Köprülü Armaganĭ* (Istanbul, 1953), 83, 85, 86 where he also "gives too much importance" to the text. In his *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* he continues to refer to the French translation of Huart and makes no mention of the Yazĭcĭ Turkish translation, p. 352, and he once more confirms its importance as a historical source: "Finally, in a later generation, Aflaki, whose work *Manaqib al-'Arifin*, written in the middle of the fourteenth century, and translated into French by Cl. Huart under the title *Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, has long been practically the sole (but still reliable) source for the history both of the order and its founder." Further the foremost specialist on Rumi and the Mevelevi center of Konya, A. Schimmel, in her recent book *The Triumphal Sun* (London, 1978), confirms by and large the sense of the text which I have incorporated in my book. Regrettable though it is that I cannot use the Persian original, it is once more incumbent on Flemming to demonstrate with specific data that the sections I have used are erroneously translated (Köprülü noted only a few errors in Huart's translation), and that the sum total of my use of the text is distorted as a result of specific mistranslation. She has not done this.

She is disturbed by a gallicism "The Great Veridique," by the use of the phrase "the Mongol Djaitu" for the "Ilchan Gaihatu." She would have expected more on Thamar-Gurdji Khatun. Since it was a matter of detail I published this in a separate article, "Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Beliserama," *Byzantina*, 9 (1977), 11-22. She would have expected more details on functions of the Byzantine church under the Turks. I gave only the essential information in order to avoid swelling an already enormous manuscript (and for which lengthiness she castigates me in her review on p. 170). Then, she says, that as an example of continuing church property under Turkish rule I could have brought forward the case of the church of the Panagia of Antalya, which was converted into a mosque in 1705/06. There is absolutely no reason why I should have dragged into the narrative the fate of this church and its property in the eighteenth century. Had I wished to bring in such examples there are richer and more important ones in the areas of Konya, Cappadocia, Trebizond and Bithynia. But it was not essential for the purpose of the book to do so. Finally, as is obvious, she has already pointed it out in her doctoral dissertation, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 108.

It is true that on p. 353, note 7, I promise to come back to a text and evidently failed to do so. She asks the question whether the theme of *Decline of Hellenism* is fully exhausted. Here she proposes that I should have asked whether there were not also influences on the remaining Christians from the side of the Muslims, i.e. loan words. First of all I point to massive Islamization which is certainly an "influence," and to mass linguistic Turkification of even those Christians who did not become Muslim. In pointing to the latter I pointed to the various stages through which the Greek language of these Christians passed before succumbing to linguistic Turkification. Thus I pointed to two basic stages: borrowing the Turkish words which eventually heavily impregnated the Greek, and then the replacement of Greek idioms by Turkish idiomatic structures. Obviously the folklore and popular culture of the Christians must have been influenced by the Muslim population, but it is a phenomenon that must be studied in the post-fifteenth century because of the nature of the sources. There is little on the subject in the period of the eleventh to the fifteenth century.

In criticizing transliterations I have followed what she says: "Statt mancher verderbter Schreibung wie bahdjyan-i Rum (266) . . .hätte man er bei der Übersetzung bewenden lassen sollen." But it is precisely because of the disputed meaning of such terms as bahdjyan-i Rum that transliteration (no matter how disagreeable to the philologist) is preferable.

Finally she observes correctly that on p. 127 Keul Khan should be Kelu Khan. She is unhappy that I have not discussed the influence of Latin feudalism on Byzantine feudalism and then refers the reader to Cahen's book, p. 43, where he supposedly discusses the subject. In effect on that page Cahen discusses neither Byzantine nor Latin feudalism, nor does he discuss any other kind of feudalism, but he does deal with orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the kingdom of the Great Seljuks. Further, the influence of Latin feudalism was specific primarily in the Morea in the thirteenth century, and there is no indication that it became general in the empire proper of Byzantium. This being so, there was no point in discussing it in conjunction with the problem of the relation of Byzantine and Ottoman institutions. She asserts that I do not differentiate between the two periods of Mongol presence in Anatolia, i.e. the Protectorate and the Direktherrschaft. Inasmuch as I am not writing a history of Seljuk Anatolia there was no point in my going into the details of this evolution of Mongol control. I mention on p. 134 that after the battle of Kose Dagh in 1243, the Seljuk sultanate became a vassal state of the Mongols and then refer to the reader the work of Cahen which first established this dichotomy of periods in Mongol presence in Anatolia, notes 270-271. As for my distinction between the formal and folk realms of culture I make the point that at the formal level Turkish institutions were completely Islamic. After a detailed discussion of the level of popular culture where I found strong Byzantine influences in agricultural and other aspects of life, Flemming states that this is "Ubervereinfacht," without giving any reasons or texts or examples to back her own point of view.

Flemming, after seven pages of detailed observations, leaves the basic seven theses of the book untouched, relies on Cahen as an authority often to support her (though often she has misunderstood what he says, or it turns out that he is saying something else quite different), and her attempt to indicate an anachronistic use of Ibn Battuta and Aqsarayi fails completely in some cases because she evidently does not understand the English of my text and in other cases because she is not sufficiently analytical of the use of the texts. In short it is an irritated review, at times very patronizing, but a very muddled one in which it is clear that she has comprehended little.

Having practically exhausted the objections and criticisms which Hamdani has raised (in the previous section of this analysis of the reviews) there remain a few strange propositions that he has made which need some attention, not so much because they are seriously supported but because more than anything else they illustrate Hamdani's generally poor understanding of the process of cause and effect. The first example has to do with what Hamdani considers to have been the factors for the success of Turks at Manzikert and afterward in conquering Anatolia. "It should be noted that Vryonis, like Cahen, has neglected the internal schism in Islam between the Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates as an important factor contributory to the advent of the Turks in Asia Minor, their success and the eventual decline of Byzantium." (Then he refers to a study of his which was scheduled to appear in Ankara.) The schism if anything restrained Alp Arslan from exploiting the victory of Manzikert, since his primary concern was with the Fatimids. The Turkish success ultimately was a product of the dynamics of Byzantine decline and Turkmen (nomadic) demographic pressure, both totally unconnected with what the Fatimids did and did not do. Further: "More important is the criticism of Cahen that Vryonis has neglected consideration of a frontier zone of the akritai and the ghazis, neither completely Byzantine nor Muslim, which facilitated the subsequent process of Turkicization." Turkicization was a mass phenomenon, a linguisitic phenomenon, and it stretched across all of Asia Minor where it was effected by and large by the dense settlement of Turkmen nomads in the first instance. The existence of a frontier zone between ghazis and acrites had existed for centuries but had not resulted in Turkicization or any other kind of "...ization."

"Generally Vryonis' account is weak when dealing with Arabo-Byzantine background and the pre-Ottoman Mongol period in Anatolia. But he does say, and correctly, that the history of these periods has still to be written." This is essentially a criticism of the fact that I did not write a different book, that I did not write a history of Arab-Byzantine relations or a history of Muslim Anatolia. I am interested, in the book at any rate, in doing neither but in tracing the decline of the Greek-speaking Greek Orthodox population. I have only adduced these facts and factors from these two periods which play a role in the fate of the population being considered.

"Vryonis neglects consideration of the influence on Anatolia of the Mameluke successes against the Crusaders and the latters' graduate withdrawal from 1291 onward. Equally important in this regard is the Il-Khanid acceptance of Islam in 1295, thus breaking a long-standing Christian-Mongol entente. Although these were external factors, they are, I believe, of significance in explaining the difficulty of the rehellenizing of Anatolia." Hamdani is as little aware of the principal historical currents in Anatolia in the thirteenth to fourteenth century as he is of the events of the eleventh to twelfth century. By this time no Byzantine would have entertained any thought of recovering or "rehellenizing" Anatolia. The Turks were so preponderant politically and militarily, and the Byzantines were in such a state of precipitous decline that it was out of the question. Irrespective of Mongols and Mamelukes and the Islamization of the one and the political victories of the other, Byzantium had given up such hopes by the third quarter of the twelfth century after the battle of Myriokephalon. By and large his assertions and objections cannot be taken seriously inasmuch as they have a fallacious cause and effect relation and in general he has no knowledge of the major structures and currents of periods of Anatolian history.

Of the remaining "Orientalist" reviews, four, which are highly favorable to the book, make certain suggestions and corrections which ought to be noted here in order to give a more nearly full picture of the book's reception. V. Menage observes, correctly, "that the author does not believe in lightening the reader's burden," in that I have not explained certain specific details from the Byzantine side to the Orientalists, and that similarly I have left the Byzantinists uninformed as to specific details from the Islamic side. My only excuse, but a serious one, is that it would have entailed a substantial inflation of an already long manuscript. Thus the location of specific and little known sites is an example. He also points to a certain inconsistency of transliteration and to the lack of a bibliography at the back of the book. He does make two very important scholarly additions: the one relates, successfully in my opinion, the Ottoman land measure "dönum" to the Byzantine stremma. The philological observation is brilliant and it is backed with significant historical information which seems to give further emphasis to a possible connection between the Byzantine pronoia and the Ottoman timar. The second has to do with Geyikli Baba and the efforts of Orhan to bring dervish colonizers to his domains. Spuler and Werner attempt either to give further explanations to the phenomenon of cultural change or else to correct certain details which I have presented. For Spuler there remains the problem of explaining why Greeks survived in certain places as a cultural identity but did not do so in other regions of Asia Minor. "Im Übrigen, hat sich das Christentum-Griechentum bekanntlich vor allem in den Randlandschaften Kleinasiens erhalten. Auch für diese Tatsache wird man keine explizite zeitgenössische Begründung finden, aber doch-vielleicht mehr noch als V. – nachdenken können. Mann kann dann vielleicht darauf hinweisen, dass von hier aus der Zugang zum Griechentum in Europa und auf den Inseln leichter möglich und eine moralische und wohl auch materielle Stützung leichter durchführbar war (was freilich für die Gemeinden am Nordsaum Anatoliens – um Trapzeunt usw. – kaum gilt). Man mag sich aber worauf V. nicht hingeweisen hat – darüber klar sein, dass sich weithin die auch abstammungsmässig griechische Bevölkerung dieser Randgebiete, die auf die griechische Siedlung des 1. Jt. v. Ch. zurückgeht, gehalten hat, während die nur gräzisierten inner-anatolischen Urbewohner den Wechsel vollzogen haben; bei ihnen mag des Christentum und auch das – oft spät angenommene – griechische Idiom weniger fest gesessen haben." This has been often observed but it is questionable for the following reasons. It would seem that a very heavy proportion of the Greek populations of western Asia Minor were dispersed, killed or converted so that the Greek population of western Asia Minor in early modern and modern times represents to a substantial degree later waves of Greek immigration from the Aegean and elsewhere. (On this see the works of Hasluck, Sphyroeras and my book, passim.) Second, Greek survived as a spoken language in a rather large number of Cappadocian villages into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Certainly this does not conform to the theory that cultural change primarily occurred among the Hellenized peoples as in contrast to those people who were from the beginning Greeks. Werner has, I fear, misunderstood what I have to say about the timar on the one hand and about the origins of the akhis on the other. "Zunächst ist es gar nicht so sicher, dass das timar auf die byzantinische pronoia zurückgeht, wie V. behauptet.... Ob die Ahi, deren städtisches Profil der V. richtig unterstreicht, noch etwas mit den byzantinischen Demen zu tun hatten, ist mehr als fraglich. Ihr Futuwwa-Ideal ging auf islamische, nicht griechische Quellen zurück..."

It should be obvious by now, from the comments I have made on the remarks of Hamdani and other reviewers that nowhere do I state that the timar definitely derives from the pronoia. Also in the latter supposition (on akhis) Werner has not clearly understood what I do say. Nowhere do I say that the akhis of thirteenth and fourteenth century Anatolia have something to do with the Byzantine demes, and certainly I state positively that the Futuwwa-ideals go back to Arab and not to Byzantine ideals. On pp. 396-97 I state: "An an ideology, futuwwa seems to go back in its origins to certain early Arab ideals..."; and on pp. 398-99: "In the period between the decline of the Seljuk state and the establishment of the Ottomans the akhi-runud appear as important factors in the political life of the Anatolia towns. In this they are strongly reminiscent of the Islamic ahdath and ayyarun, and of the sixth-century Byzantine circus factions-neaniai and eleventh century guilds." I simply draw parallels in function, nothing more. His final observation is very fundamental: "Synkretistische Kulte und Praktiken nomadischer und sesshafter Türken brauchen mit Griechentum nichts zu tun zu haben, denn Kleinasian war bereits vor dem Seldschukeneinbruch ein nur schwach hellenisiertes Land, zumindestens im Ostteil. Hier existierten noch starke 'barbarische' Relikte aus der Antike, und die christlichen Bräuche wichen oft stark von den orthodoxen Normen ab. Dieses 'Christentum zweiter Ordnung' beeinflusste Turkemenen, Yürüken und Osmanen, nicht die griechische Hochkirche." His basic error is the assumption that by medieval Hellenism I refer only to formal culture. In effect I state clearly that my conception of culture is that of cultural anthropology, that it is holistic and that it includes popular as well as formal culture. Thus Griechentum does not refer only to literate classicizers who adhere only to the dogmas of the councils and the fathers. Even in antiquity, as Martin Nilsson has shown in his fundamental book, *Greek Popular Religion*, Greek culture included all aspects of culture and at both the levels of formal and popular culture.

unhistorical and incorrect. There was a popular Greek culture and this of course had a considerable effect on the Turks. Finally he is against the method of seeking parallels in epic poetry since according to one theory (Th. Frings) these similarities arise from the inherent nature of the genre and of human society. Kornrumpf notes apropos of the text of Evliya Chelebi on the Turkish-speaking Greek Christians that the word batil, used to qualify their language, really has a religious overtone: "Wenn Evliya Çelebe die Sprache der Turkophonen Griechen als 'bâtil' bezeichnet, meint er das nicht so sehr im technischen Sinne, sondern hat in Übereinstimmung mit Geist und Religion seiner Zeit vor allem die religiöse Qualität des Wortes im Auge: Da der Christenglaube 'falsch,' 'nichtig' ist, muss auch zwangläufig die türkische Sprache dieser Griechen derart beschaffen sein und nach der zeitgenössischen Sprachregelung so bezeichnet werden." It may be that this is either correct or a possible interpretation, but it does indicate a use of the Turkish language which at least to Evliya Çelebi sounded false.[10]

Conclusions

By and large the seven theses of the book still stand in the face of these twenty reviews. The majority of the reviews confirm this either explicitly or implicitly. Cahen did attempt to qualify the first thesis, to wit that western and central Asia Minor up to Trebizond, Caesarea and Cilicia, was substantially Hellenized on the eve of the first Seljuk raids into the peninsula. But Cahen does not substantiate his qualifications by reference to primary source material nor by any compelling logic. Indeed none of his critical remarks are buttressed by reference to primary sources, and the same holds true for the critical remarks of Pantuckova, Flemming, and Hamdani. Any criticism of the work (which is based on an exhaustive analysis of the primary sources) which is constructed on a very broad and deep grid of primary research, must be based either on references to contemporary primary sources or historical reasoning which overthrows the structure so constructed. The statements of the "Orientalists" Cahen, Flemming, Pantuckova, Hamdani, as well as the occasional critical remarks of the Byzantinists Barker and Hild, are made without any significant, critical reliance on primary sources, and are often made as mere pronouncements proceeding from assumed authority, ex cathedra, from a presumed authority either Cahen, or Flemming, or someone else of themselves. The reference to one or another secondary author, who writes in the twentieth century, rather than to contemporary medieval primary sources, constitutes a fundamental methodological perversion of historical research. The methodology of these four Orientalists, i.e. their reference to the 'revered' authority of Cahen or of some other modern author, in order to establish a fact, a trend, or a general historical development in the period between the eleventh to fifteenth century is in effect the method of medieval theology; it is the reference to an authority, established and canonized (by whatever persons or processes). The historian must prefer the testimony of the contemporary primary sources to a later, canonized, secondary authority. The first and perhaps most important observation to be made in regard to these four Orientalists is, therefore, that they and the two Byzantinists have ignored the fundamental law of historical research, i.e. careful analysis of all primary sources, and have substituted for it mere pronouncement.

The second item which I note in the reviews of these four Orientalists is occasional, but serious, carelessness in reproducing what I actually say and also in the miscomprehension of the actual English of the book. It would be more than useful if Cahen, Flemming, Pantuckova, and Hamdani do one of two things before they undertake to review another book written in English: either they should hire a competent translator to translate the English text into their mother tongue, or else they should improve their comprehension of the English language. Their errors in understanding important sections of my text are extraordinary. As scholars they have demonstrated a fundamental irresponsibility in the ease and grossness with which they have misunderstood the text and thus misinformed the scholarly public which has formed some opinion about the book on the basis of the reviews which they have written.

Third, these four Orientalist reviewers have variously extended the medieval warfare between Byzantium and Islam to the scholarly domain by pitting Byzantinists against Orientalists. Cahen does so on the level of race (Vryonis is Greek and therefore has inherited certain prejudices), Hamdani rules out sources because they are written in Greek, Pantuckova attempts to invalidate conclusions emerging from Byzantinology as disciplinarily incapable of scholarly objectivity.

It is apparent that reviews, ostensibly written to inform the scholarly reader as to the actual contents and theses of a given book, do not always succeed in effecting this. Though a majority of the reviewers concerned here do accomplish this successfully, a substantial number failed. They are nonetheless of interest because they do illuminate two other aspects of reviews. First, it is dangerous to rely, as they do, on the mere 'authority' of a reviewer. The more renowned this 'authority,' the greater the potential for misleading the reader. Second, the carelessness and error in reviews are substantial. Third, the reviews and reviewers, as much if not more than the author being reviewed, are often indications of the state of a given discipline, of its standards of accuracy, of its prejudices and outlook. The appearance of such reviews in journals with a high standing and large scholarly circulation (for instance *The International Journal of Middle East Studies, Byzantinoslavica, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*) indicates that there has been a general decline in the standards of reviews being accepted by these journals.

On the other hand, the majority of the twenty reviewers reproduced and conveyed to the reader of the review, accurately and fairly, the contents of the book. They evaluated the merits of the seven theses while adding their own constructive criticisms.

NOTES

1. Vryonis, "Recent Scholarship on Continuity and Discontinuity of Culture: Classical Greeks, Byzantines, Modern Greeks." in Vryonis, *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture* (Malibu, 1978), pp. 237-56.

2. Vryonis, *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages* (Wiesbaden, 1975). N. Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam* (New York & London, 1979), pp. 10, 17, 57, 58, 62-65, 96. R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, 1979), treats the subject, but I have serious reservations about the methodology.

3. Vryonis, *The Decline*, pp. 498-99.

4. Vryonis, *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages.*

5. It is precisely this method which I applied for western Asia Minor, *The Decline*, pp. 218-20, where I combined the medieval texts with the results of the archaeological survey of Muller-Wiener.

6. The current controversy raging over the merits and demerits of Orientalists calls for a note of clarification. In utilizing the term "Orientalist" I mean by it all those scholars who deal with the area of the Near East, whether Westerners or Near Easterners for there is much that they share in their approach. In this sense it is not so restricted a usage as is to be found in Said and others. If to Said and his followers the western scholars who deal with the Islamic world are imperious and lack objectivity, he and those who follow him would do well to reexamine their views (views of many Near Eastern Orientalists on such subjects as those treated in my book). E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

7. I do not presently list these 26 articles of Cahen, but the reader may find references to them in my book, *The Decline*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 98, 113, 118, 133-35, 139, 212, 231, 352, 397, 472, etc.

8. O. Turan, *Selcuklular zamaninda Turkiye* (Istanbul, 1971).

9. The reason for equating bandits with Turkmens in this area is that it is hardly conceivable that an area infested by nomads, outside the city walls, could have been inseparable from the bandits who operated freely in the same area. The nomads controlled the environs.

10. I have not dealt with the reviews of Rexine, Kitromilides, Crane, or Guseinov as their reviews are largely descriptive analyses and whatever points or criticisms they made are dealt with in my remarks on the other reviewers.

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CLIVE FOSS

THE DEFENSES OF ASIA MINOR AGAINST THE TURKS

In the middle of the eleventh century, after the glorious victories of the Macedonian dynasty, the Byzantine Empire appeared to be at its height. In the east, it ruled a vast domain comprising Asia Minor, Armenia, the upper Euphrates valley and parts of Syria, an area roughly equivalent to that of modern Turkey. By the end of the fourteenth century, however, that empire had virtually disappeared, leaving only an occasional toehold on the coast and the isolated interior fortress of Philadelphia. During the intervening period, the Byzantines had constantly to defend themselves against the prime agents of the decline, the Turks. The attacks of this adversary took various forms: in some cases, the Seljuks and their successors mounted organized expeditions on a large scale; more often, smaller raiding parties would strike and rapidly disappear; on many occasions, there was no active warfare at all, but rather the insiduous penetration of the frontier by nomadic Turcoman tribes. The goals of these groups varied: for the ruler, the prestige and acquisition of territory which accompanied the capture of a fortress could be as important as the booty – cash, cattle, women and slaves – which attracted the raiders; the nomads, on the other hand, sought the more permanent benefits of good grazing ground and freedom of movement. In all cases, profits were made at the expense of the Byzantines, who needed to use all available means to defend their lands and to drive the Turks back toward the east.

The Turkish advance was neither constant nor universally successful. After the twin victories of Manzikert in 1071 and Myriokephalon in 1176, it was precipitous, as it was after 1261 when the recapture of Constantinople turned imperial attention fatefully toward the West. For the rest of the time, only the interlude of the successful Laskarid kingdom saw relative stability; otherwise, the Empire was constantly on the defensive. Defense, like attack, took various forms. In the general collapse of the army and frontiers, diplomacy was primary: treaties were made with (and against) Turkish leaders, enemies (by no means all Turks) were played off against one another, and bribes were generously promised and given. Defense sometimes took the form of aggression with armies marching deep into the Turkish heartland. More often, limited expeditions would attempt to drive the Turks from areas they had invaded or occupied. These efforts had inconsistent results: treaties were broken almost as often as they were made, alliances were notoriously unstable, the Turks once driven out tended to return, and the policy of striking hard and deep led to the greatest debacles.

The discussion which follows will not be primarily concerned with the Turkish attacks or with the kinds of response just mentioned; nor will it attempt to explain the fall of Byzantine Asia Minor. Instead, I wish to consider a form of defense which was constantly practiced and which has left a tangible record behind – fortification. From the Dark Ages to the fall of Constantinople, the Byzantines never ceased to build fortresses and town walls. While in earlier ages such efforts might take the form of a line of fortifications forming a defensible frontier, the Turkish invasions knew no frontier and the whole country lay exposed to their ravages. Walls were built everywhere to defend Byzantine territory and populations, and to consolidate such acquisitions as were made. Many of these solid structures have escaped the depredations of time and still survive, usually on steep and overgrown hilltops, all over Asia Minor. They are, in fact, more numerous than any other class of architectural monuments of the age, but have attracted relatively little interest. For the historian, they are often useless because undated; for the historian of art or architecture, they lack the sophistication and elegant solutions of spatial problems found in the churches. For the armchair Byzantinist, they are inaccessible. Yet some important work has been done by studying individual fortifications or those of a region.[1] In addition, large numbers of Byzantine fortresses were recorded by the conscientious travelers of the last century. Their works, usually concerned with the topography, inscriptions or archaeology of the classical period, have often escaped the notice of Byzantinists.[2] Furthermore, the travelers themselves rarely had a specialized interest in the Byzantine period, nor the time to study remains which for them were 'late,' 'Medieval,' or 'Byzantine.' Hence, the monuments remain largely unknown, and of those which are noted few are dated. They cannot, therefore, fit into a pattern of historical or architectural development, and thus appear to be of little interest.

For the Komnene period, virtually no architectural remains have been recorded in Asia Minor. Standard books on Byzantine art or architecture devote much attention to the sophisticated churches of the capital and to the novel and colorful developments in Greece, but Anatolia seems a complete void. No churches have been reported and the few identified fortifications have been published too sketchily to find a place in the literature. The whole country would seem to have been a wasteland, or at least artistically inactive.[3] In fact, the period has left many monuments still standing in relatively good condition and often easily accessible. These are the fortresses and town walls which form the subject of the present discussion.

I propose here to analyze some of the major Komnenian fortifications to determine whether they have a characteristic style reflected in their method of construction and especially in their use of masonry. If such a style exists, it should be possible to assign other remains to the period and to achieve a broader view of the Komnene achievement. The discussion will begin with monuments whose chronology is established by written sources, whether texts or inscriptions. Before beginning, however, it may be best to survey the historical record to provide a necessary background for the monuments and to illustrate the dangers against which they were created. Ideally, a study of fortifications of a period should supplement the historical record by providing a view of the defensive system with its strategic points and roads and of the areas which were considered especially worthy of protection. Although little of that will be attempted in this preliminary effort, which will be more concerned with identification of monuments, the following historical sketch may at least provide a context for the fortifications.[4]

The declining years of the Macedonian dynasty, when the Empire appeared to be at its height, saw the first hostile contact between Byzantines and Turks, but the initial raids which struck Armenia in 1029 and 1043 could have caused little consternation in the capital or led many to predict the coming catastrophe. After the sack of Artze near Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) in 1049, however, the raids became more frequent and severe. Turkish bands struck ever deeper into Asia Minor, finally reaching and destroying Cappadocian Caesarea, one of the great centers of the plateau, in 1067. During the reign of the unfortunate Romanos Diogenes (1068-1071), the Turks began to approach the rich and fertile valleys of the west with their devastation of Amorion and Chonai, both in Phrygia. Romanos in reply led a massive expedition to settle with the Turks. It ended at Manzikert in 1071, a disaster which brought the beginning of civil war and the collapse of the frontier.

The chaotic decade after Manzikert was marked by the constant if unplanned penetration of the Turks, called in as often as not by one of the protagonists in a civil war. Their initial progress followed the route between Armenia and the capital but they soon overran the central plateau and spread their ravages to the southwest coast at the same time as the Armenians were siezing the rich plain of Cilicia. Turkish success and Byzantine humiliation culminated in the capture of Nikaia in 1080 after which this city, less than a hundred miles from Constantinople, became the headquarters of the Seljuks. On his accession in 1081, Alexios Komnenos found little territory in Anatolia under imperial control: in the north, the whole coast of the Black Sea, protected by the high Pontic ranges; in the center, a few isolated fortresses including Choma near the sources of the Maeander; in the south, Attalia and Smyrna and perhaps a few other fortified towns; and in the vicinity of the capital, Nikomedia alone was an imperial outpost. It would hardly be realistic, however, to draw a map of Byzantine possessions at this point or at any time during the reign of Alexios for even the land which the Emperor held was subject to constant raids with the defenders and populations sheltering behind walls while the Turks had free run of the plains. Conversely, the Turks, ignorant of siege warfare, could rarely capture a fortress by assault (though stratagem, blockade and treachery were equally effective weapons) and many towns were holding out long after the first invasions.

Threats from Normans and Pechenegs in the west prevented Alexios from undertaking a major effort in Anatolia during the first fifteen years of his reign. He did manage to regain control of the coast of Bithynia opposite the capital and to retain Nikomedia in spite of its temporary capture. In the west, however, the Turkish emir Chaka set up an independent state in Smyrna and siezed Ionia and the large offshore islands. The first substantial gains came only in 1093 when the coastal plain of Mysia with Kyzikos, Apollonia and Poimanenon was finally recaptured and in 1095 when a fort was built by Lake Baanes (Sapanca Gölü) to control the approaches to Nikomedia. On the eve of the First Crusade, therefore, the Empire controlled even less of Asia Minor than it had in 1081, while the Turks of Nikaia continually devastated the Byzantine possessions in Bithynia.

The victorious march of the First Crusade marked a turning point in the fortunes of Byzantine Anatolia. By capturing Nikaia and driving the Turks back to the central plateau, the Latins enabled Alexios to regain much of western Asia Minor. After 1097, Nikaia again became a major Byzantine base and the Turks of Ionia and Lydia were forced into submission or flight. Philadelphia was now an imperial bulwark while to the east large parts of Phrygia were recaptured. In 1099, a naval expedition took and fortified Korykos and Seleucia in Rough Cilicia and gained temporary control of the Cilician plain. That, however, was soon recaptured by the crusaders and long remained under their control. Although Byzantine forces penetrated to the plateau, no permanent presence was established; the failure of the Crusade of 1101 showed that central Anatolia was firmly in Turkish hands. Important gains had nevertheless been made; by the end of the century Alexios ruled over the richest part of the country.

Conquest was followed by consolidation. After the defeat of Bohemond in 1108, Alexios turned to Asia Minor where he hoped to repair some of the devastations of thirty years of almost constant warfare. Many of the coastal cities had been ruined and their populations dispersed. Two of the greatest, Adramyttion and Attalia, were restored and the Turks pursued into the interior. The work was so successful, however, and the ripostes carried out with such violence that the Turks in reply began to send destructive expeditions and raids. As a result, Alexios was obliged to spend his last five years in almost constant campaigns in Asia Minor where he won frequent, but ephemeral victories. No part of the Byzantine territory, however close to the sea or capital, was free from the Turks who, although they were rarely able to capture fortified towns, constantly plundered the countryside and carried off captives. Bithynia and Mysia seem to have borne the brunt of the attacks while the west and southwest were in a relatively calm, if ruined, state.

Alexios finally decided to strike a decisive blow against the Turkish heartland on the plateau. In 1116 he led his army deep into Phrygia, sending raiding parties as far as the outskirts of the Seljuk capital, Konya. This was a demonstration, however, and not a reconquest, for much of the Christian population of the area was brought back to safer lands under the protection of the army. On the return march, Alexios won such a decisive victory that Shahanshah, the Turkish ruler, agreed to terms which would make him subordinate to the empire and would preclude future raids. At one stroke, the aims of forty years' fighting seemed realized and peace guaranteed. The treaty, however, never took effect, for both rulers died soon after, in 1118.

The reign of John Komnenos (1118-1143) saw consolidation of Byzantine rule in the west, attempted advance in the north, and real success in the south. Within two years of his accession, John had made significant progress: Phrygian Laodikia was recaptured and fortified, and Apollonia Sozopolis in Phrygia was conquered, bringing Byzantine arms to this strategic area for the first time in half a century, and reopening the overland route to Attalia. Sozopolis became one of the most powerful bulwarks of the frontier for the rest of the Komnene period. To put an end to the Turkish raids which still harried the west, John in 1130 built the fortress of Lopadion in Mysia, which became his main base for expeditions in Anatolia, and in 1138 that of Achyraous, which protected the road south to Lydia and Ionia. As a result of these and other efforts, the latter half of his reign was virtually free of attacks.

Working from a solid base of reconquered and fortified territory, and relatively free of threats from the Latins, John moved on the attack in Anatolia. He led a long series of campaigns from 1132 to 1140 against the Danishmenids which achieved at least temporary control of Paphlagonia and supremacy in the north. Although these wars produced few lasting gains, they demonstrated the renewed strength of the empire and prevented further attacks in the west. The emperor's greatest victories came in 1137 when he finally gained control of the Cilician plain and imposed his suzerainty, though not direct rule, on Antioch. At his death in 1143, John left a larger and stronger domain in Asia Minor. Nothing had been lost, and strategic gains had been made which not only added territory but secured the fertile regions of the Aegean where the greatest resources of the country lay. Prosperity was also guaranteed by the construction of powerful fortresses.

The reign of Manuel Komnenos (1143-1180) began inauspiciously. The Turks, freed from the victorious leadership of John, immediately resumed their raids, reaching Bithynia in 1145 and 1146. The emperor made a drastic response: in addition to limited ripostes and building of fortresses, he led an army directly to the heart of the Turkish state and ravaged the suburbs of Konya. Yet when he seemed on the verge of victory, news from the west forced him to make peace and even to seek an accommodation with the Turks against the unwelcome arrival of the Second Crusade. The narrative of that expedition clearly reveals the unsettled condition of the country and the desolation of the long years of war. The German crusaders, defeated near Dorylaion, were frequently attacked as they withdrew to Nikaia; the French had to fight a Turkish force near Ephesos and were constantly harassed on their march up the Maiander to Laodikia and down through the mountains to Attalia. The crusade came to an inglorious end in Pamphylia, where the Turks had completely overrun the countryside, leaving Attalia an island of imperial authority. The chronicler remarks that the crusaders, during their march along the Aegean coast, found many cities in ruins and others which had been replaced by hilltop fortresses above the sea. Although this no doubt reflects conditions at the time, it is not clear whether the crusaders were observing the results of recent devastations or those of the general collapse of city life in the Dark Ages which had left vast ruined cities throughout the regions they traversed. It is in any case evident that in 1147 the Turks were freely penetrating all parts of the imperial lands.

The following decades, when Manuel was increasingly preoccupied with European affairs, were relatively calm, marked by a great victory and by an insiduous development which was to undermine all Byzantine victories. In 1158, Manuel reconquered Cilicia and the next year made a triumphant entry into Antioch, receiving the full submission of the Latins and achieving the culmination of Byzantine efforts since the First Crusade. On his return, however, he was attacked near Dorylaion by Turcoman nomads, part of a gradual infiltration which was overrunning Phrygia. Unlike the armies and raiders of the Turkish states, the nomads came to stay. They were difficult to remove: once beaten, they would withdraw only to return soon after. They not only took over good agricultural land but sometimes captured cities – Laodikia had fallen to them more than once. Although attack seemed of little permanent value in repulsing this new wave, intensive fortification offered the hope of restoring order and consolidating imperial rule. This activity of Manuel was especially evident in the theme of Neokastra created between 1162 and 1173 to include the regions of Pergamon, Adramyttion, and Chliara. A network of fortresses was constructed to protect the agricultural population which had previously lived in open villages so that they could cultivate the land in security and pay their taxes. Dorylaion and Soublaion in Phrygia were fortified for similar reasons in 1175. Although this work could do much to restore the prosperity of the country, the resources of the empire seem not to have sufficed to extend it generally to the exposed borderlands.

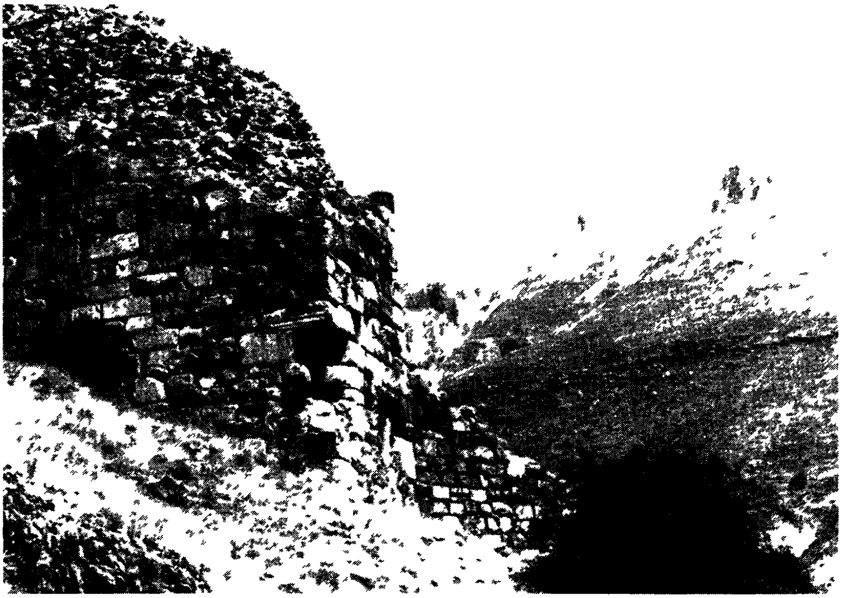
Continuing problems with the Turcomans and deteriorating relations with the Sultanate of Konya decided Manuel to finish with the Seljuks definitively by repeating his effort of thirty years earlier on a grand scale. In 1176, his grand expedition came to disaster at Myriokephalon. This was the greatest catastrophe since Manzikert and it had similar and immediate results. In the four years which remained to Manuel, Turkish forces ravaged the Maiander valley as far as the sea, struck the north which had long since been quiet and frustrated imperial efforts to regain control of the borderlands. Immediately after his death in 1180, two of the greatest frontier bastions, Sozopolis and Kotyaion, were sacked. Andronikos, the last of the Komneni, opened the way to collapse by denuding the borders of troops as he attempted to seize the throne and by provoking civil wars which undermined the fabric of the Empire. The following events, which culminated in the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, fall outside the scope of the present discussion, but their results are clear: the Laskarids were left with far less of Asia Minor than the Komnenei had possessed.

During this eventful century of Komnene rule, Asia Minor needed constantly to be defended, and the sources mention many fortresses which were built or rebuilt. Some, as already indicated, are represented by standing remains. Inspection of these, hopefully, can lead to identification of a style of construction or decoration whose characteristics may then be sought in other, unidentified, monuments. As far as possible, the datable remains will be considered in chronological order, beginning with a fortification which slightly predates the Komneni and concluding with walls of the last years of the twelfth century.

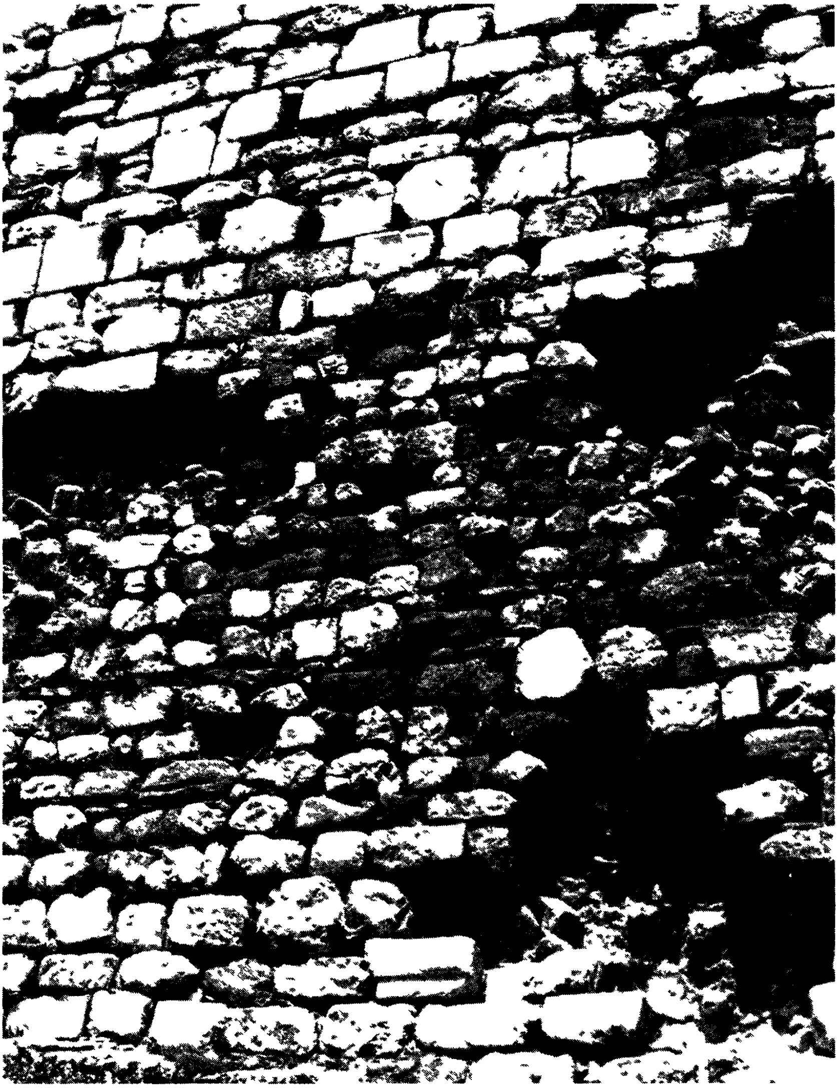
The unfortunate Romanos Diogenes (1068-1071) began the systematic work of strengthening Asia Minor against the onslaught of the Turks. Although best remembered for his ambitious and catastrophic attempt to crush the enemy militarily and drive them from the country, he also carried on the less spectacular work of fortification.[5] The better-known part of this work took place near the eastern frontier, at Theodosiopolis (now Erzurum) and Manzikert itself, where the fortresses had the double aim of guarding the frontier and securing territory reconquered, or to be reconquered, from the Turks. Romanos was also advised to look to the security of areas well within the frontier, already hit by Turkish attack. Although the surviving record is fragmentary, inscriptions show that he was especially concerned with the defense of the strategic area of Phrygia where the central plateau breaks up into the mountains and passes which lead to the rich Aegean plains. The first of these, found in the vicinity of Eumenia, is dated to 1070 and commemorates the construction of a *kastron.*[6] The castle in question was presumably intended to protect the town which stands at the edge of the plain of the upper Maiander on roads which lead westward into Lydia and southwest to the major road junction of Laodikia. Unfortunately, no trace of this work has survived. The other inscription, however, was found in association with a surviving fortress at Apollonia Sozopolis in Pisidia, about 100 kilometers east of Eumenia on the route between Pisidian Antioch and the upper Maiander. That both Manuel Komnenos on his way to Myriokephalon and the Third Crusade passed this way attests to the importance of the route.

The inscription, of which only about half survives, names Romanos and gives the date 1070.[7] It was found reused just below the entrance to the powerful and impressive walls which cut off the steep ridge of Sozopolis on the only side from which it could be approached. Elsewhere, the hill drops precipitously to the plain and river gorge. The main wall is well preserved to a height of about six meters, with two gates and two towers, one square and one roughly pentagonal. The lower gate, which was the main entrance to the town, projected from the wall to form another tower.

The walls are built of a core of pebbles and small stones set in a good deal of mortar and anchored together by numerous timbers perpendicular and parallel to the surface. This crib-work is especially evident in the main gate. Towers and walls alike, which are bonded together, display the same facing, in two styles. The most prevalent consists of well-coursed squared fieldstones and spoils of all kinds and sizes which include many inscriptions and represent the debris of the ancient city. (Fig. 1) They are carefully fitted together with the interstices filled with small stones and white mortar; virtually no brick appears. The second style, rather less prevalent, consists of smaller blocks, usually roughly squared fieldstones,



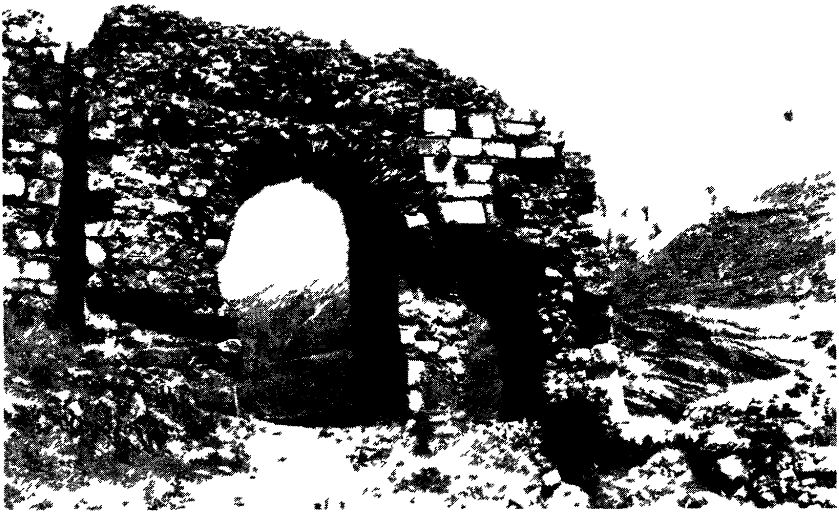
1. Sozopolis: Upper part of wall with "pentagonal" tower.



2 Sozopolis: Wall section showing two styles of masonry

set in regular courses. (Fig. 2) Small stones fill the interstices. Here, too, little brick appears but rows of flat stones are inserted between the courses in a way which is reminiscent of brick lacing courses. They are not consistently used and rarely continue throughout an entire section of this masonry.

The towers call for little additional comment except to note the peculiar shape of the lower one whose north side is curved while its south face resembles two sides of a pentagon. (Fig. 1) While the upper gate is a simple vaulted opening, the gate at the lower end of the wall is a more complicated structure. (Fig. 3) It consists of the lower part of a tower pierced by two parallel passages, one about two meters wide and four high, the other a bit more than half that size; the passages are open to each other on the inside of the gate. Inner and outer archways are vaulted with stone with three or four bricks between each voussoir.



3 Sozopolis: Gate

The two styles of masonry seem not to be contemporary since they appear irregularly together rather than in separate sections. The second gives every appearance of representing repairs to the first. It may therefore be considered a later style. The dating, however, is not evident. Beside the inscription of Romanos, nothing is known of the history of Sozopolis between the sixth century and the twelfth, after which it was a major frontier bastion. It would therefore be natural to expect the age of the Komneni to have left some mark on the fortress and to assign the second style to it. This seems to be confirmed by stylistic reasons which will be discussed in another context.[8] If this is correct, the main walls with their masonry of large coursed spoils without brick may be taken as an example of the work of Romanos IV, the only one so far identified. Lacking further material, it is not possible to determine whether this undecorated use of spoils was typical of the age or only of the region.

Although Alexios Komnenos is known to have carried out extensive work of fortification in Asia Minor, only a few examples have been identified. One of these shows all the signs of crude and hasty construction, while the other two, considerably rebuilt in later periods, preserve only parts of the Byzantine work. In them, the dating of the various stages is disputed, so that a general impression of the style of the time hardly emerges.

An inscription found at Didyma, the Byzantine Hieron on the Aegean coast just south of Miletos, records the rebuilding of the *kastron* in a year which may be read as 1089 or 1094.[9] This castle is quite unlike any of the others here studied, for it consists of the ancient temple of Apollo which had been fortified in the Dark Ages and became the center of a small town and a bishopric.[10] The original fortress fell into ruin, apparently after a fire and earthquake, and was eventually rebuilt and expanded. The new fortifications consisted of a heavy wall between the antae of the former temple, blocking of its main portal, and a bow-shaped wall which extended beyond the temple colonnade on the east. These walls presumably represent the construction mentioned in the inscription, but unknown from the written sources. They thus contribute to the historical as well as the archaeological record by indicating that Alexios established a foothold on this coast in the early years of his reign. Such an accomplishment would have been more likely in 1094, after the murder of Chaka but before the reconquest of the area, than in 1089 when the emir was at the height of his power. The latter date may therefore be taken as preferable and as the exact year when the fortifications were erected.

The remains at Didyma have been excavated and illustrated in good photographs.[11] These show that the walls within the temple were built of roughly coursed unsorted spoils in no regular or decorative arrangement. The interstices were filled with broken brick and small flat stones which occasionally form a short course; mortar covered most of the joints. The facing of the bow-shaped outer wall, which is relatively thick in relation to its core of mortared rubble, displays on the outside roughly coursed spoils including several column drums, sometimes in an irregular arrangement of alternating courses of long flat stones and large square ones. The gaps are filled with small stones and much mortar is used. Most of the inner face of the wall resembles the exterior, but toward the north it makes use of smaller stones, also in irregular courses. The use of brick is not evident, any more than the identification or dating of any phases of rebuilding. In general, the fortress of Didyma seems to display a hasty construction suitable to the circumstances but hardly a distinctive style. Without the evidence of the inscription, it would have been difficult to attribute this coarse and undistinguished work to any specific period of the Byzantine age. Its existence and date show that variation of style and quality of construction may be expected within the period.[12]

In 1099, Alexios ordered the rebuilding of Korykos and Seleucia, two major fortresses of the Mediterranean coast critical to the defense of the sea route to the capital and of Cyprus against Bohemund of Antioch. The admiral Eumathios restored Korykos, which had been ruined, to its former condition, while he repaired the castle of Seleucia and strengthened it with ditches.[13] These castles survive in a considerably altered state; in both cases, work of Alexios has been identified, though not with universal agreement.

The case of Korykos, where a fortress on the coast with double walls and numerous towers of various shapes stands in good condition, is the more complicated. Four stages of construction have been distinguished, all employing spoils and roughly coursed stones of various sizes in more or less regular courses over a core of mortared rubble. None is dated by an inscription. Since one wall with its crenelations was covered over with a new facing, a relative chronology may be established. The date of the original construction, however, is a matter of dispute, with estimates ranging from the seventh to the twelfth century.[14] It has been suggested that a masonry which uses relatively small spoils and cut stones in irregular courses with a filling of smaller stones represents the work of

Alexios. Brick, not in general use in this region where ashlar masonry has a long tradition, does not appear. Considering the uncertainty of attribution and the evident need for further research, the walls of Korykos may only be taken as an example of Komnene use of roughly coursed spoils without brick.

The fortress of Seleucia, which still dominates the town and the crossing of the Kalykadnos, is an Armenian rebuilding which has largely obliterated its Byzantine predecessor. Enough traces, however, have survived, to suggest that the walls of Alexios contained square towers and were built of roughly coursed squared stones with relatively little mortar or filling. They formed a facing over the usual core of mortared rubble. Here, too, the evidence is hardly sufficient to identify a style.[15]

If the reign of Alexios has left little behind which can be clearly identified and discussed, that of John has produced two notable monuments, the fortresses of Lopadion and Achyraous, both in Mysia. A good part of the walls of Lopadion still exists.[16] The remains include one well-preserved round tower which stands almost to its full height and much of the circuit wall, now mostly delapidated and rarely rising more than two or three meters. In addition, there are the remains of a gate beside the large tower and of a passageway which led to the now ruined northwest tower. The tower beside the gate is constructed of mortared rubble with a facing of well-coursed fieldstones of varying sizes with some spoils. (Fig. 4) The stones are separated by horizontal lacing courses or brick, usually single, with additional brick fragments to fill the interstices. These fragments are usually laid parallel to the lacing courses. In the upper parts of the facing, a good deal of vertical brick is inserted to form an irregular cloisonné. Occasional beam holes appear, especially in the brick courses. The tower is bonded to the adjacent wall and gate piers.

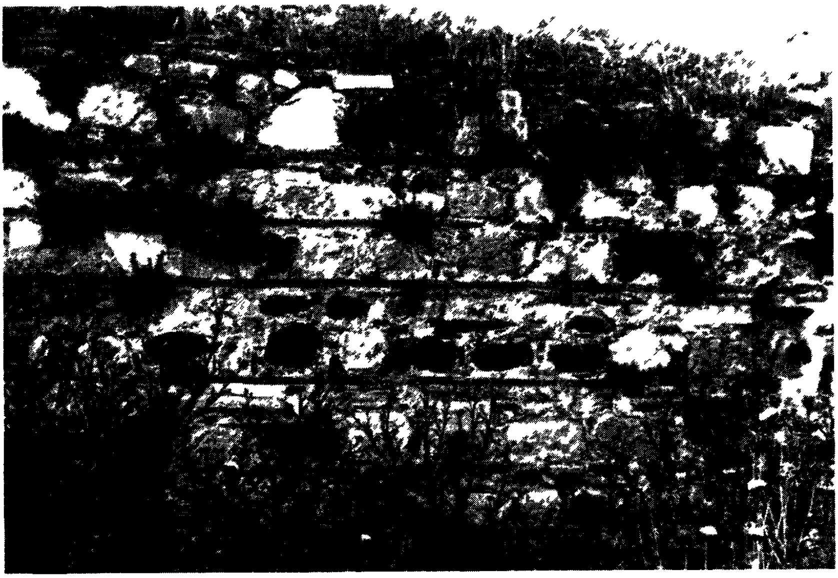
The south pier of the gate, adjacent to the tower, is of a similar style with the facing, where visible, displaying the same rough alternation of stone and brick. The opposite pier, however, has a band of four bricks running through its core; none of the facing of this low and delapidated fragment has survived. On the northeast corner, a structure now isolated by the disappearance of the surrounding walls contains a vaulted passage through its wall. The sides of the passage are faced with alternating courses of brick and stone. (Fig. 3) The arch on the town side has stone voussoirs separated by double bricks, while the external arch appears to come to a point and may thus represent a later rebuilding.

4. Lopadion: Tower by gate.

The walls display some variation of style. The wall adjacent to the round tower displays single or double brick courses alternating with courses of small stones. In other parts, the lacing courses are neater, with bricks closely set side by side to separate courses of rough fieldstones which contain some filling of brick fragments. The walls make occasional use of broken bricks inserted vertically but these do not form a cloisonné. Some sections of wall give a different and more regular appearance because a good deal of mortar has been added to bring the fieldstones up to a smooth surface. In these cases, the recessed brick technique is employed to produce an appearance of single bands of brick alternating with smooth layers of mortar and fieldstones. (Fig. 5) Loss of this mortar through weathering could account for the different appearance of other parts of the wall.

In sum, the walls and towers of Lopadion seem to be mostly of one period of construction, with only minor variations. Only the north pier of the gate, with its bands of brick, is much different and may represent a repair. Since the sources clearly state that the fortress was the work of John Komnenos, it is reasonable to take its characteristic alternation of brick and stone with some cloisonné and walls of recessed brick with much mortar over the stones as an example of a style employed in an imperial foundation of 1130.

Within a decade of the foundation of Lopadion, John built another fortress in Mysia which was to play an equally important role in the defense of western Asia Minor. This was Achyraous whose remains stand on a steep bluff overlooking a tributary of the Makestos River in the beginning of the hilly country south of the plain of Hadrianoutherai, now Balıkesir. It is about four kilometers southeast of the large village of Pamukçu (formerly Eftele).[17] The castle does not dominate the landscape but frequently appears and disappears as one approaches the rather low hill on



5 Lopadion: Section of wall showing recessed brickwork

which it stands. (Fig. 6) Its strategic importance is evident, however, for it commands the route along the river valley and thus the main road from the Propontis and the Mysian plain to the plains of Lydia and Ionia. The hill is isolated on all sides and virtually unapproachable from the river; the only easy access is from the west where a hill of equal height faces it.

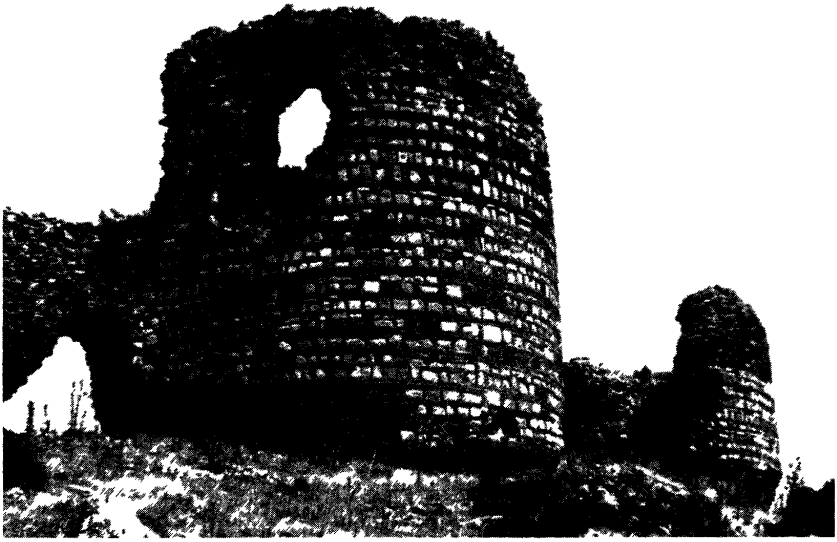
The fortifications consisted originally of at least five round towers with curtain walls which surround the hilltop. The most substantial defenses were on the west where massive round towers overlooked the main approach; the river side was protected by a precipitous drop which needed little reinforcement. Most of the fortress survives or can be traced in outline: the towers on the west are well preserved, one of them almost to its full height, but of the rest only parts of the core remain. Much of the wall between the towers and from the northern tower toward the river is standing. The main gate, with the road that approached it, is visible on the north side not far from the river. It was defended not by a tower but by a right angle bend in the wall, for the large towers on

6. Achyraous: General view from north.

the west would have covered the road. An opening between the two main towers seems to have been a postern, but another beside the northern tower is more probably a modern breach.

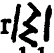
Little can be said about the construction of the walls beyond the fact that they were built of small mortared rubble with a facing which has almost entrely disappeared. Where it is preserved, it shows single courses of small fieldstones alternating with lacing courses of brick. A good deal of brick is added to produce a regular cloisonné.

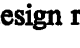
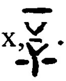
The towers, on the other hand, have kept most of their facing. Both display a highly distinctive brickwork over a core of mortared rubble. The northern, better preserved, tower is a horseshoe-shaped structure with two large openings high on its flanks. (Fig. 7) It is constructed of regularly coursed fieldstones with a small proportion of spoils. Large rectangular stones are frequently inserted on end rather than horizontally to produce an unusual effect.

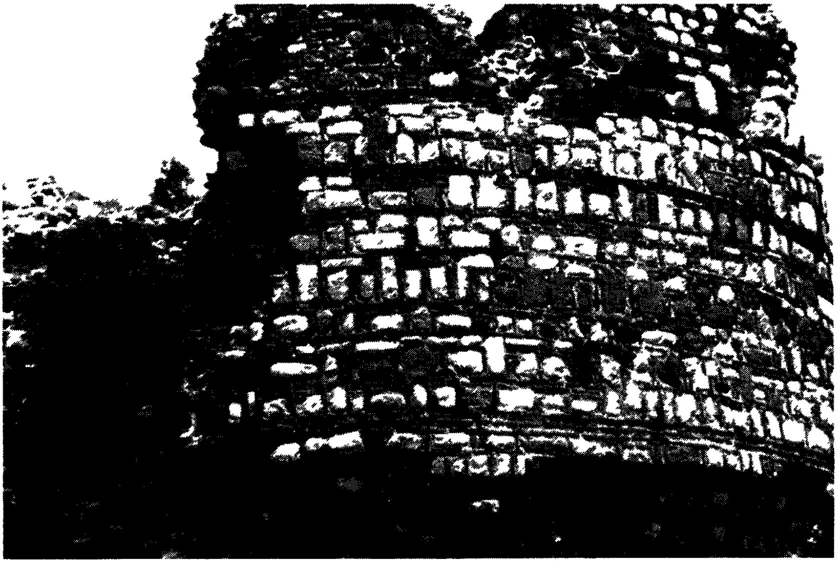


7 Achyraous: Northern tower

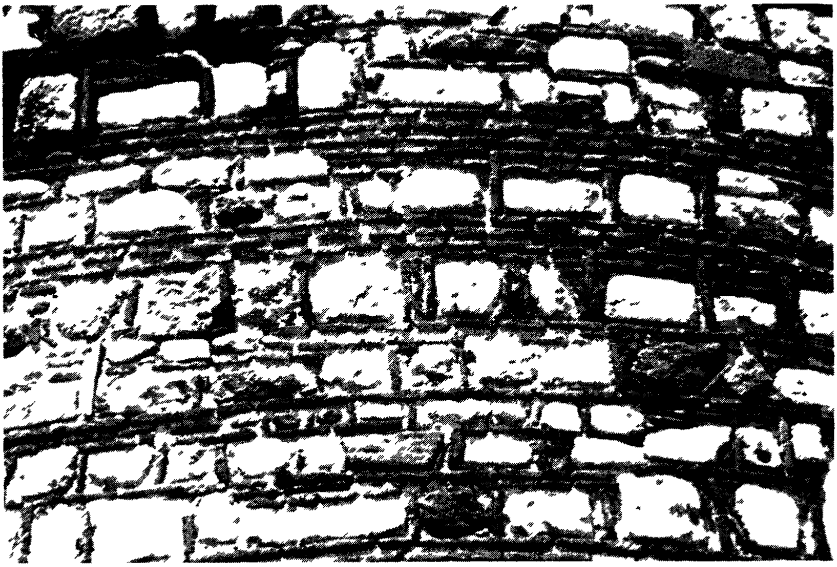
Most striking, however, is the use of brick. In the upper parts of the tower and in an inner face visible in the opening on the south side, single rows of brick alternate with courses of stone. Elsewhere, in the more conspicuous parts, the style is far more elaborate. Stones of varying size are separated by single or often triple courses of brick. Broken bricks are laid parallel to the courses to fill gaps and to compensate for the varying size of the stones. In some cases, these become part of the lacing course so that one course may show considerable variation in thickness. Likewise, some rows of single large stones turn into double rows of smaller stones with a brick course between them.

The most distinctive aspect of this tower is the extensive use of vertical brick to create a widespread cloisonné. The vertical and horizontal bricks meet to form a square containing a stone and mortar filling and where necessary brick fragments. The vertical bricks are occasionally double. Of twenty-one courses in the central face of the tower, fifteen use cloisonné throughout and six in part. Purely decorative brick also occurs amidst this exuberant cloisonné. About halfway up the central face, large gaps between stones are filled by bricks arranged in a meander pattern between vertical bricks thus or  ; this sometimes appears in a simpler form without the vertical brick, or even . (Fig. 8) Occasionally a slanted brick is merely added beside a vertical one, representing perhaps the degeneration or origin of the designs. These decorative forms are sporadic and do not occur in systematic groupings. The entire system of stones and brickwork forms the usual shell; it was attached to the core by beams which have left their traces in numerous small holes in the lower part of the cloisonné squares. No recessed brick is employed, nor has mortar been added to create a smooth surface.

The second, southern, tower is slightly less well preserved but displays the same use of stone and brick. (Fig. 9) Here, the cloisonné extends consistently into the upper parts of the tower but is in general less regularly employed. Brick courses are single, triple or multiple. As if to compensate for its less careful appearance, the tower displays more abundant and varied decoration. In the upper part, much broken brick is inserted at an angle around the stones. Elsewhere, designs described above are used as well as more complex ones: a kind of double meander,  ; a design reminiscent of a tree, and, more complex, .



8 (above). Achyraous Northern tower, detail of brickwork.
9 (below). Achyraous Southern tower.

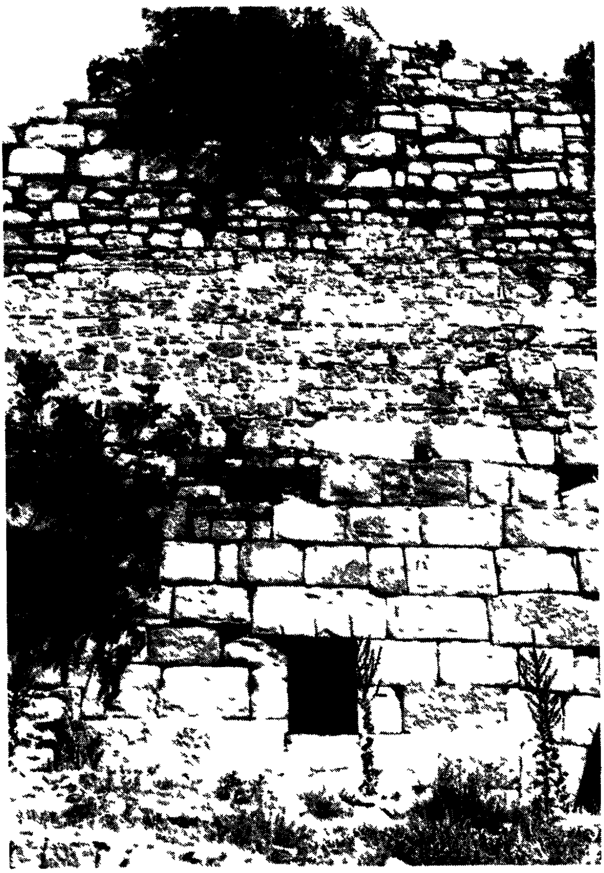


One distinctive style is thus common to these two towers: a facing with many brick courses, much cloisonné and extensive brick decoration. The elaborate style suggests that special attention was paid to the construction and that the fortress was intended as an imperial monument. Given the clear statement of the sources, there is no reason not to take it as a foundation of John Komnenos and thus as another example of the work of the early twelfth century.

Among the most successful accomplishments of Manuel Komnenos was the organization and fortification of the theme of Neokastra. Between 1162 and 1173, Pergamon, Chliara and Adramyttion were endowed with new walls, and other fortresses were constructed in the regions around them. These castles protected the inhabitants from the raids of the Turks and brought security and prosperity to the region. Although neither Adramyttion nor Chliara preserves sufficient remains of this project to merit description and the other fortresses have not been identified, the walls of Pergamon still stand to illustrate the work of Manuel and to provide an example of the style then employed.

Pergamon was fortified on at least three occasions in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period. The first two, attributed to the third and seventh centuries and built with masonry appropriate to those ages, are easy to distinguish from the walls assigned to Manuel. The latter, however, follows the course of the third century wall for its whole length and on occasion overrides the original Hellenistic fortifications or those of the seventh century. It is therefore not uncommon to see two or more quite different styles employed in its circuit.[18]

The walls attributed to Manuel form the most conspicuous Byzantine fortifications of Pergamon. They stand on the lower slopes of the Acropolis overlooking the ancient road as it bends to enter the Hellenistic gymnasium on its ascent of the hill. The ruined terrace of the gymnasium provides support for the walls and for six towers, of which one is square, two circular, and the rest horseshoe-shaped. The walls, which survive only in part, consist of well-coursed spoils arranged in neat headers and stretchers; other spoils, still coursed, but with a less careful arrangement of unsorted squared stones; and smaller spoils and fieldstones arranged in courses alternating with irregular single courses of brick. (Fig. 10)

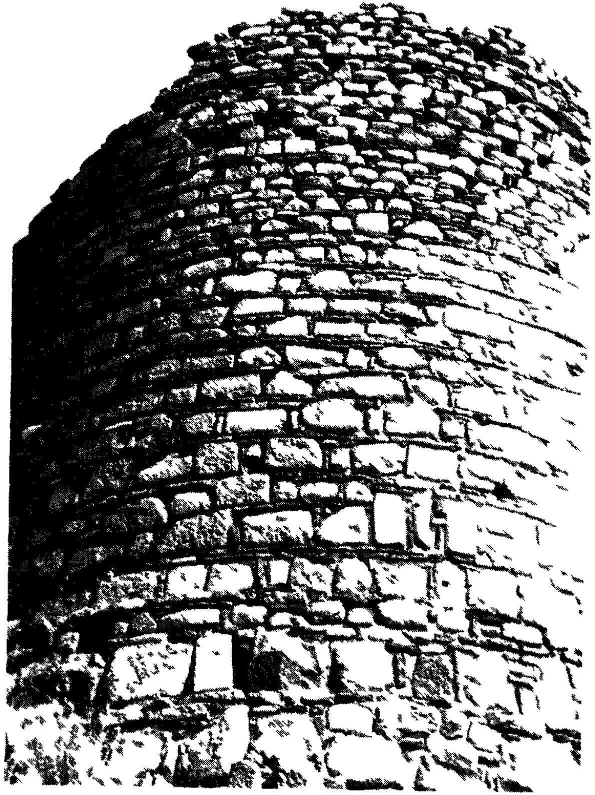


10. Pergamon: Styles of masonry in wall over Gymnasium terrace.

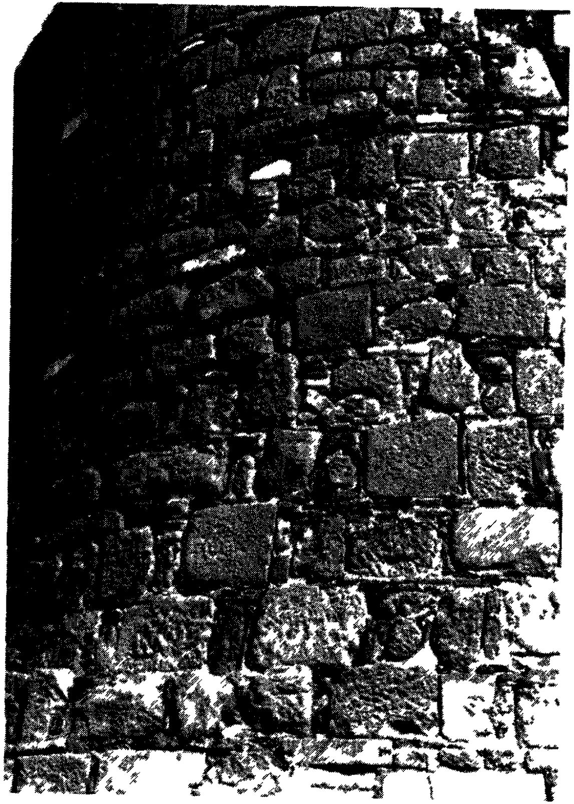
Sections of the latter style contain beamholes and are sometimes covered with mortar to provide a smooth surface. They occur in conjunction with the second style. Generous use of brick differentiates these two styles and suggests that they are the work of Manuel while the first is of the third century.

The towers are built in similar if more elaborate styles. They sometimes show extensive use of brick with single courses consistently separating the layers of spoils and rubble. This is notably the case of the most prominent of the towers, above the main entrance to the city. (Fig. 11) In this style, vertical bricks are occasionally employed to produce a row of cloisonné. The effect is regular, decorative and distinctive. Most of the towers, however, make a more sparing use of brick with roughly sorted and coursed spoils and rubble. (Fig. 12) Interstices are filled with pebbles and brick fragments, vertical bricks are occasionally inserted, and horizontal bricks frequently form partial courses which appear and disappear without continuing far across a face. Most towers show beam holes especially in the lower parts where mortar has been generously applied over the joints. A common feature is the use of large square blocks which disturb the regular coursing and seem intended to present the maximum flat surface to the enemy. It is not unusual in these towers for larger blocks to be used nearer the foundations (and attacks) with a superstructure of smaller stones in an increasing amount of brick. In spite of the apparent lack of uniformity, the towers, like the walls, appear to be the product of one period. Some of the differences may be attributed in part to aesthetic reasons: more exposed features are more highly decorated. In any case, the distinctive use of spoils and brick courses provides a unifying element.

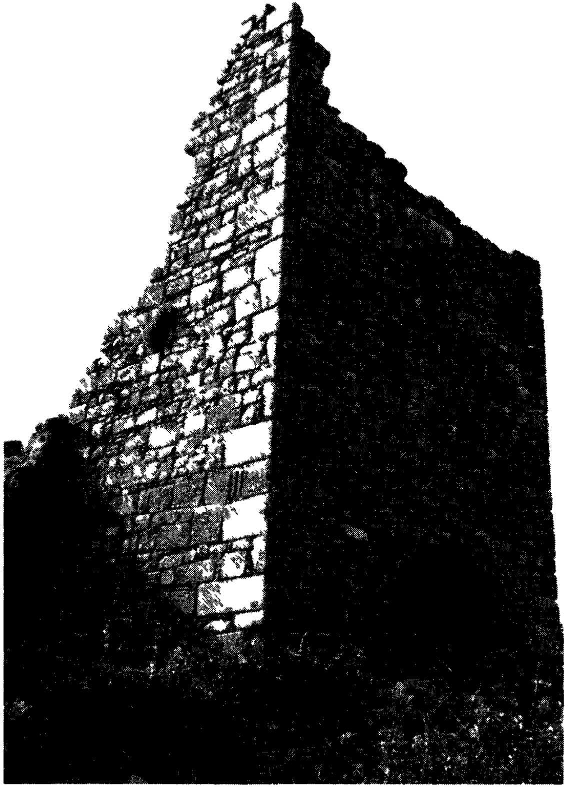
The fortifications extend to the Acropolis where large parts of a citadel with remains of about ten towers are preserved. These walls display a variety of masonry but have much in common with the lower fortification. Two square towers on the northern side are constructed of spoils of various shapes and sizes with some fieldstones and sporadic brick sometimes arranged in short lacing courses. (Fig. 13) The material is only roughly sorted with larger blocks near the bottom and along the edges. Since these walls follow the course of the third century fortifications, it is possible that the shape of the towers and the construction of their lower courses represent that earlier period. The contrast between Byzantine and earlier work is especially evident in the outer face of the northwest wall where three styles are visible: the lower courses are of regular Hellenistic ashlar; above them are the neatly coursed spoils of the third century; and at the top, small coursed rubble with occasional brick to fill the interstices or to form a rudimentary course. The inner face of the southeastern part of the wall, with its more abundant use of brick, shows the greatest resemblance to the lower towers. This wall contains a good deal of vertical brick to form a cloisonné sometimes very neat, more often rough and always made of broken brick. (Fig. 14) It also displays



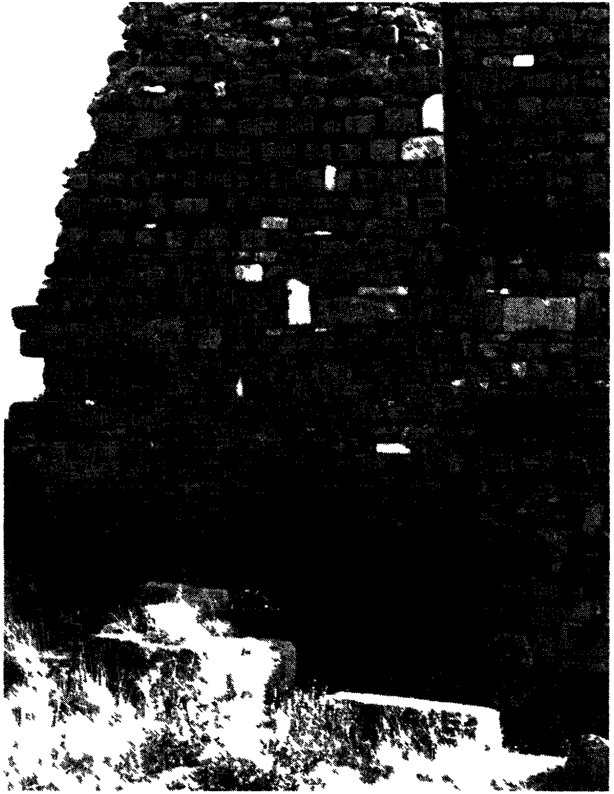
11 Pergamon: Tower beside main gate to lower city



12 Pergamon Tower over Gymnasium terrace



13 Pergamon: Tower of Acropolis



14 Pergamon: Southeastern Acropolis wall, inner face

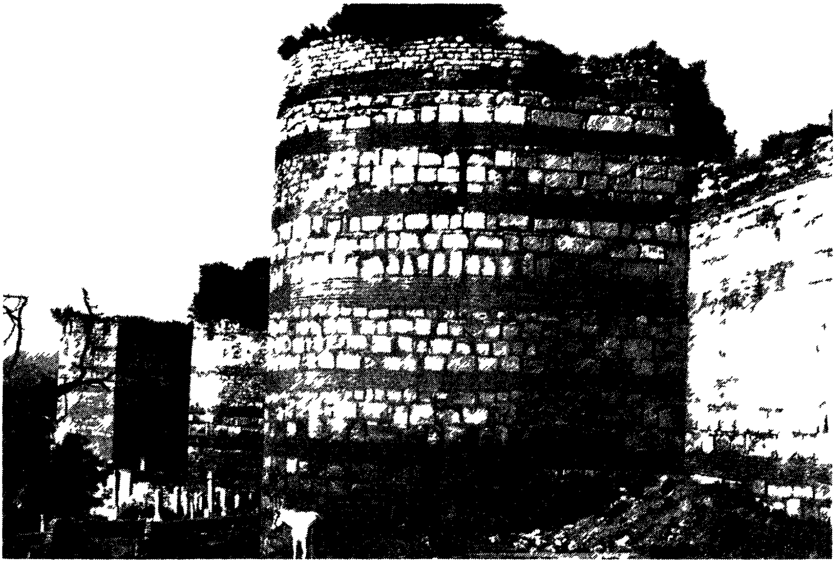
desultory brick courses and a good deal of brick inserted to fill the gaps between the mixed spoils and rubble used in the facing. In its irregular, inconsistent but sometimes decorative use of brick, this section particularly resembles towers of the lower wall.[19]

Although the late walls of Pergamon seem to present a complex variety of styles, they have consistent elements which suggest attribution to one period. They use brick courses alternating with stone for decorative effect in notably visible positions, such as the tower by the main gate. They only make occasional use of cloisonné but they generally have a moderate amount of brick between the stones. Most noteworthy are the rather feeble courses of brick – usually fragments – which rarely continue any distance.[20] Such masonry may thus be taken to represent a style of the second half of the twelfth century.

The final example of a datable Komnenian wall comes not from Anatolia at all nor is it strictly confined to the period here discussed, but the land walls of Constantinople, which have been studied in detail, contain much of interest. One large section is attributed to Manuel Komnenos, and other parts are apparently not far removed in time from it. Since these were the most important fortifications in the Empire, they might be expected to represent the style of the age most perfectly and, perhaps, to have provided a model followed elsewhere.[21]

Niketas Choniates, writing in the early thirteenth century, twice refers to the walls which Manuel Komnenos built to defend the palace of the Blachernai.[22] His description of the siege of Constantinople in 1204 makes it clear that the walls in question constitute the large northwestern projection of the land walls between the Palaiologan palace now called Tekfur Saray and the so-called Prison of Anemas, just south of the double wall of the ninth century which forms the final, northern section of the land walls.

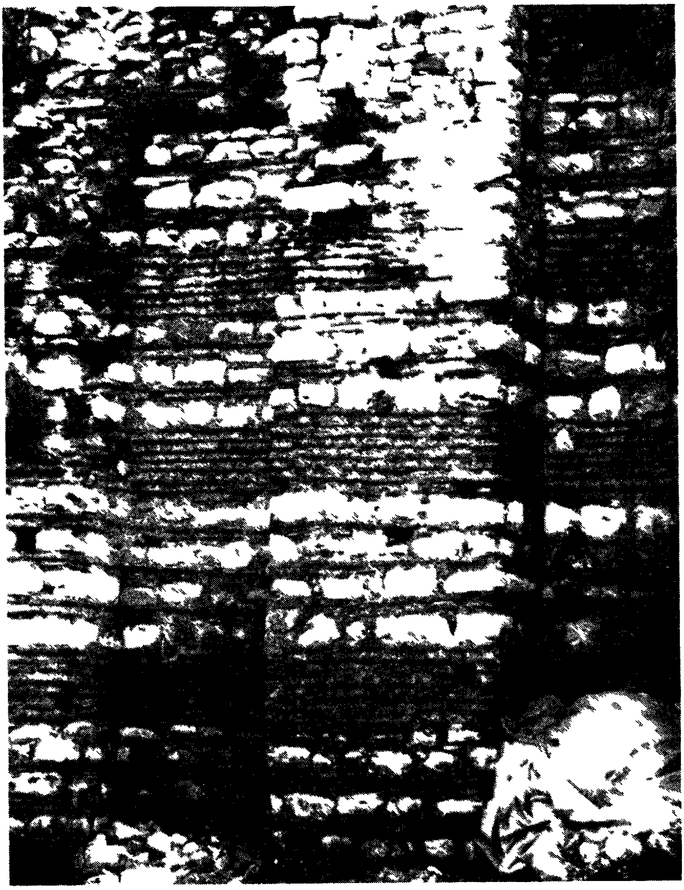
These walls consist of two distinct parts, separated by a clear break and built with different styles of masonry and shape of towers.[23] The nine round or polygonal towers and connecting curtain of the southern part are generally considered to be the work of Manuel. If later repairs are disregarded, these are built in a consistent style employing large limestone blocks and multiple courses of brick arranged in bands. A typical tower might show six bands each containing seven courses of brick. (Fig. 15) The bricks are set



15 Constantinople: Blachernai walls, tower 5

fairly close together side by side but each course is separated from its neighbors by a layer of mortar roughly equivalent in thickness to the bricks. In a few instances, additional brick courses appear irregularly among the limestone blocks, sometimes running only a short distance. The brick bands separate double, triple or quadruple rows of coursed and sized limestone blocks, most of which appear to be spoils. The stones are often arranged in a peculiar way· rows of large blocks may appear higher or lower than rows of smaller stones, and rectangular blocks are often laid vertically rather than horizontally so that they form courses of stones which stand on their narrower edge. In some cases, a single course of large blocks will turn into a double course of smaller ones; more often, the spoils are irregularly sorted. Although the blocks are square cut, they are usually irregular in size. The gaps between them are filled with smaller stones or often with bricks inserted vertically. These bricks are usually covered over with pink mortar to create a smooth surface and are thus rarely visible. They do not form a cloisonné pattern since there are very few horizontal bricks outside the bands. For the most part, the brick appears to be reused. Beam holes do not appear on the surface.

The outer face of the wall is consistently of this style, but the interior chambers and inner face show considerable differences. These frequently, but not consistently, display a greater proportion of brick with extra single or double brick courses inserted horizontally between rows of large limestone blocks; vertical bricks are occasionally added. (Fig. 16) This produces a richer and more colorful effect with some cloisonné, yet one apparently felt to be undesirable on the exterior, more exposed to view and attack. Beam



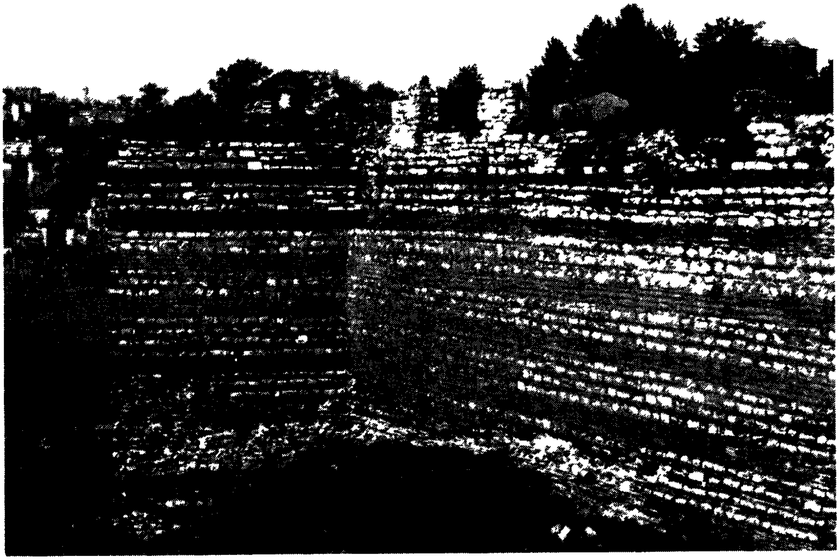
16 Constantinople: Blachernai walls, interior behind tower 3

holes and recessed brick, notably absent from the outer face, are sporadically present on the inside.[24] There appears to be no evidence to suggest that the inner face or interior chambers are not contemporary with the outer face.

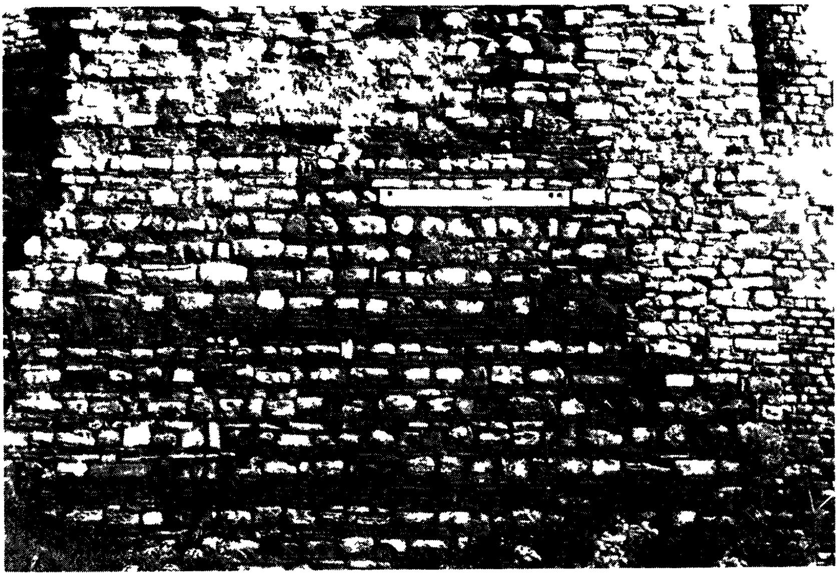
The second section of the walls of the Blachernai, which consists of four square towers and associated curtain, are of a strikingly different appearance and technique. (Fig. 17) These walls employ far smaller and less regular stones and more numerous brick bands which form a regular alternation with the stone courses. In addition, in towers and walls alike, single and double courses of brick separate the individual layers of irregular stones. The recessed brick technique is frequently used, especially, though not exclusively, in the bands. These usually consist of eight bricks of which four will be visible. The technique also conceals beams which lay behind the bands. The overall effect is striking and colorful, far more exuberant than the more sober walls to the south. With minor variations, and excepting late repairs, this style is consistently employed in this section.

Before attempting to determine which, if either, of these walls is the product of Manuel Komnenos, other dated walls and towers of the area might be considered. The square tower at the northern end of the Blachernai walls, no. 13, bears a building inscription of Isaak Angelos set in an eccentric position somewhat right of center about halfway up the outer face.[25] (Fig. 18) The inscribed marble block is laid amid masonry similar to that just described. It consists of bands of multiple brick set in courses of small and irregular stones, each separated by a single or double course of brick. Beams lay behind the bands. Vertical bricks occur occasionally; there is no recessed brickwork. The bricks are much thinner than those of the walls described and the general appearance is far less neat; the resemblances, however, seem to outweigh the differences. The uncharacteristic position of the inscription poses a problem. Most building inscriptions on towers are conspicuous by their centering and are usually placed directly above a brick band. This has led to the supposition that the inscription is a spoil and thus irrelevant to dating; this question will be considered below.

Niketas Choniates also reports that Isaak Angelos (1185-1195) built a tower below the palace of the Blachernai both to defend the palace and to serve as his own residence, and that for its con-



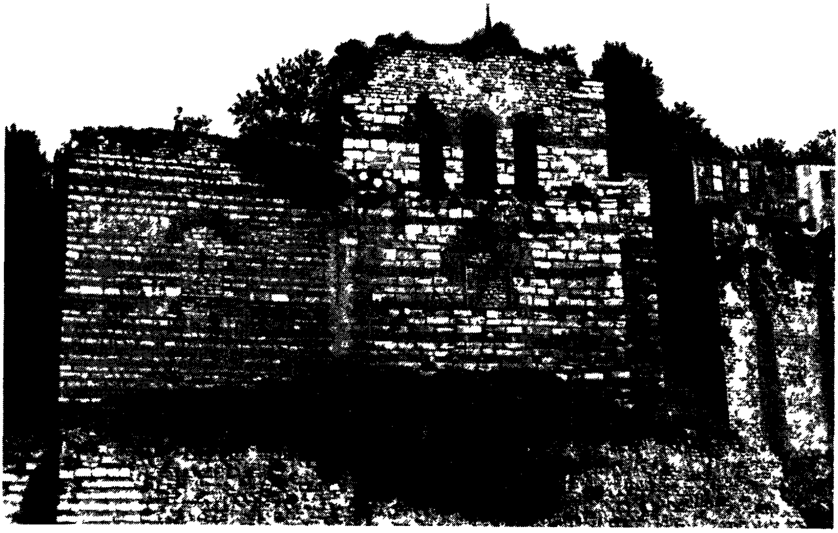
17 (above). Constantinople Blachernai walls, tower 11
18 (below) Constantinople Blachernai walls, tower 13
with inscription of Isaak Angelos.



struction he destroyed many buildings in the city.[26] This structure is generally identified with the southern half of the large double tower which stands immediately to the northeast of the tower just described. The tower indeed suits the description of the text. (Fig. 19) Its upper part contains large triple windows facing outward from the city with single windows on the sides; each is over two meters high. The tower is so constructed as to provide a terrace outside the southern window while projecting column drums presumably supported a wooden balcony below the triple window. The upper part was formerly connected on the southwest directly with the palace of the Blachernai. There can be no doubt that the building was intended as a residence. The tower contains much reused material: limestone blocks, all of which appear to be spoils, are laid rather irregularly in double, triple or quadruple courses. The rows of spoils are separated by bands of brick of five courses in the lower part and six or seven in the upper. Some of the brick bands on the main face contain large numbers of columns laid perpendicular to the surface as if to fulfill the function of wooden beams. Where vertical bricks appear, they are usually covered with mortar.

Part of the superstructure on the south side displays a different technique in which single or multiple courses of brick separate each layer of small and irregular stones. In this part, broken bricks arranged parallel to the courses fill some of the gaps between the stones while other bricks inserted vertically provide a sporadic cloisonné. The side toward the city is completely obscured by modern fill. The remains of this tower, obviously intended as a dwelling and plainly built of spoils, leave no doubt that it is indeed to be identified as the tower of Isaak Angelos and that it may therefore be taken as an example of the work of the late twelfth century.[27]

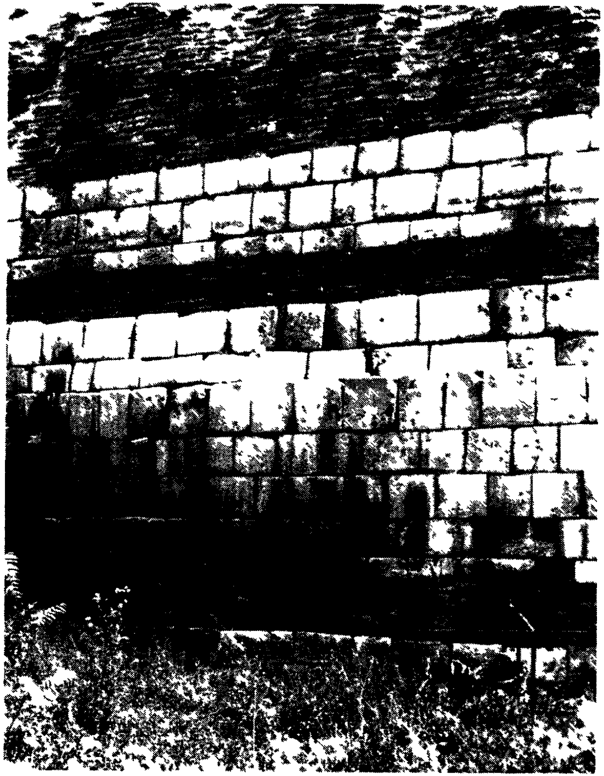
As mentioned above, the tower of Angelos actually consists of two towers side by side. Detailed investigations have convincingly shown that the northern part is a later addition. At first sight, however, it seems to resemble the northern group of towers and walls described above. (Fig. 19) Its main face is divided into two parts by a cornice of reused marble; above it, a large opening has been blocked. The north and west faces are constructed in an exuberant style with a great deal of brick. Single courses of small and

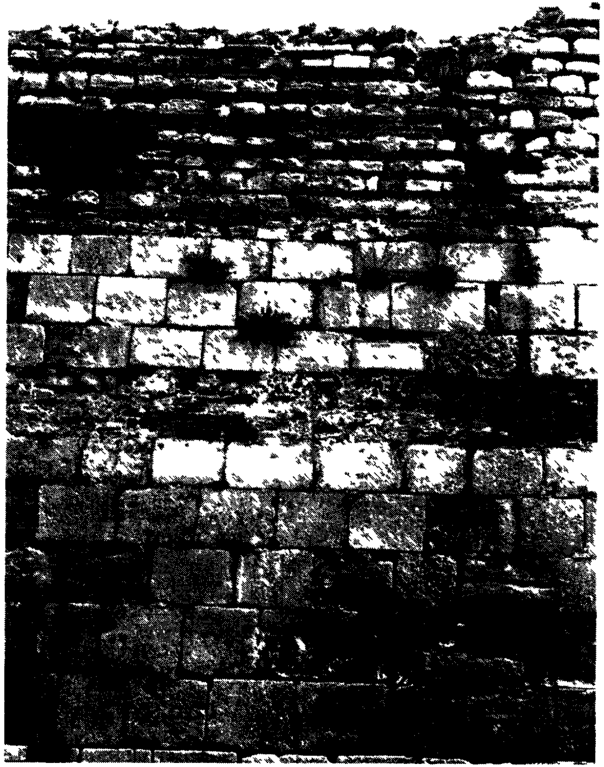


19. Constantinople: Blachernai walls, double tower of Isaak Angelos.

rather irregular stones are separated by bricks laid in a rhythmical arrangement of courses of varying thickness.[28] The bricks, which appear to be reused, are set in a good deal of mortar, with bands of mortar as thick as the bricks. Vertical bricks are rarely employed but small fragments of brick are sometimes inserted parallel to the courses to fill the gaps between the stones. Diagonal pointing is used throughout, and numerous wooden beams of circular section are visible. Recessed brick is nowhere apparent.

This tower is not of any of the styles so far considered, nor does it closely resemble the walls of the Blachernai. Instead of an alternation of bands of brick and courses of stone (with or without brick courses between them), it employs a varied and rhythmical alternation of brick courses in which the idea of regular bands no longer dominates. In addition, its technique of construction, with the use of raked pointing and absence of recessed brick, is distinctive. These phenomena suggest that the northern addition to the tower of Angelos is of a different period from the remains so far considered.





20. Constantinople Land wall between towers 88 and 89. 21. Constantinople Land wall between towers 85 and 86.

Finally, an inscription revealed another virtually contemporary reconstruction of the walls. The text, known only from a copy of the fourteenth century, proclaimed that Alexios III restored the Gate of Charisios (now Edirne Kapı) and a large area around it in 1197.[29] Here, one might hope to find a further example of masonry, if not of the Komnene period, at least of the late twelfth century. Unfortunately, the inscription is now lost and the gate has been completely restored; nothing remains to indicate what, if anything is the work of Alexios III. The walls and towers around the gate (from gate 84 to 89), however, are in a style not found elsewhere in this region and which clearly represents a repair. For the most part, they are built of large square limestone blocks, perhaps spoils, neatly cut and closely fitted together with little if any mortar and with few gaps. A band of seven bricks runs above a foundation of such stones and contains occasional beam holes. It is followed by seven neat courses of stone, another band of seven bricks without beam holes, then three more courses of stone, and terminates in a superstructure entirely of brick. (Fig. 20) In bands and superstructure alike, the bricks are closely set side by side and separated by a thin layer of mortar. On tower 86, the only one at all well preserved, a marble cornice runs through the upper part of the superstructure. These towers and walls display numerous repairs, mostly in the plain late Palaiologan style. Only one need be noted here: the upper part of the wall between towers 85 and 86 has been rebuilt with smaller and less regular stones separated by single or double rows of reused brick. (Fig. 21)

Although the walls of large blocks and brick bands might seem to resemble the walls of the Blachernai, the differences are substantial. Here, the blocks are far better cut and more closely fitted together and there are fewer bands, while the Komnenian walls offer no example of a brick superstructure. The closest parallel is not with anything Komnene, but with the large towers B15, 16 and 18 near the Golden Horn, known to have been built by Theophilos in the ninth century. These also have large neatly cut limestone bricks separated by bands of seven brick courses and their upper part is entirely of brick decorated with a marble cornice. The walls around Edirne Kapı, therefore, may be considered as a previously unnoted example of ninth-century work. This does not mean, however, that nothing has remained of the grandiose-sounding project of

Alexios III. Although his main efforts have evidently disappeared, the rebuilding noted above may be taken as a lone survivor. It is the only section not obviously earlier or later and its use of alternating brick and stone courses sufficiently resembles sections of the walls of the Blachernai to support an attribution to the late twelfth century.

This analysis of a relatively small section of the land walls, by seeming to raise as many problems as it solves, illustrates the difficulty with dealing with a structure which has undergone so many changes in the course of its millenial existence and for which the documentation is surprisingly sparse. The discussion has revealed the existence of several styles in walls which supposedly date to the same period: the large blocks and brick bands of the southern Blachernai walls with something similar in the tower of Isaak Angelos; the more elaborate brickwork with many extra courses in the northern Blachernai walls and the interior of the southern; the similar though less careful work on the tower with the inscription of Isaak; the simple alternation of brick and stone associated with Alexios III; and, finally, the exuberant brickwork of the addition to the tower of Isaak Angelos.

Some fixed points of chronology exist, most notably in the tower which all agree to have been built by Isaak Angelos. Its masonry is so similar to that of the southern Blachernai walls that there is no reason not to consider them as belonging to the same epoch. Similarly, the interior of the southern walls, the whole northern section, the repairs of Alexios III and tower 13 with the inscription of Isaak all have in common the use of alternating brick and stone courses, whether or not in conjunction with brick bands. Recessed brick appears extensively on the northern wall and occasionally inside the southern; beams behind the brick bands are a feature of the northern wall and of tower 13; thin bricks appear regularly in 13 and occasionally in the southern wall.[30] In other words, these walls are all so related that they, too, may be considered to represent at least approximately the same period. Only the northern addition to the tower of Isaak stands apart as unrelated; it must in any case have been built later than the twelfth century.

Two groups of closely related walls thus emerge, without any obvious means of deciding which represents the work of Manuel. The texts of Choniates, which refer to walls built to protect the palace of the Blachernai, leave no doubt that some, if not all, of the walls under discussion were intended, while his specific discussion of the siege of 1204 seems to indicate the northern section in particular. The small tower with the inscription of Isaak, along with the relationships noted above, may point to a solution. Comparison of the various styles seems to show that it is closely related and therefore likely to be contemporary with an important group of these walls. There is therefore no necessity to consider the inscription as a spoil, although its odd position remains anomalous. In that case, two towers of distinctly different appearance are revealed as contemporary. Similarly, there would be no logical grounds for not regarding the northern and southern Blachernai walls as roughly contemporary, allowing that one could still be some years older or younger than the other. Both, in other words, could fit into the long reign of Manuel and the whole group could be seen as work of the mid- and late twelfth century. This seemingly odd conclusion appears to be the only one which will accommodate all the evidence. Otherwise, if the styles distinguished by presence or absence of additional brick courses, and by varying size of stones and shapes of towers are considered to come from widely separated periods, the even greater anomaly of the southern wall will have to be faced; in that case its interior and exterior would belong to different periods. There is no evident explanation for the great variation in style within the Blachernai walls and I shall not propose one here. One might only note in comparison that Komnene and Laskarid walls are rarely altogether consistent, though in other cases the variations can be explained by location and visibility.

The addition to the tower of Isaak remains to be considered. It plainly falls outside the relationships outlined above and is shown by its construction to be later than the tower to which it is attached. Historically, it could be expected to date from the time of Michael VIII or Andronikos II when repairs were carried out on the walls. A Palaiologan date would in fact accord with the rhythmical alternation of single brick courses with varied numbers of brick courses which appears to be characteristic of the thirteenth century.[31] The absence of this characteristic in the other walls studied would partially confirm the proposed chronology by excluding a date in the Palaiologan period.

At first sight, the Komnene period seems to offer a multiplicity of masonry technique which could hardly serve as a guide among unidentified castles. Yet certain common characteristics can be isolated to differentiate the period and to aid further investigation. At the same time, many of the walls studied illustrate the kinds of problems which a stylistic investigation faces.

One factor must be borne in mind from the beginning and be considered whenever a date is to be assigned to a fortification on stylistic grounds alone.: contemporary walls and towers display considerable variety, not only from one region to another, but even within the same structure. In southern Asia Minor, for example, and at Didyma and Apollonia in Pisidia, brick was not used, and these undecorated, often crude, walls would be difficult to date on stylistic grounds alone. Inscriptions enable them to be placed early in this period; without such evidence, a casual examination might assigned some of them to the Dark Ages. Brick thus emerges as a highly valuable criterion for dating and its use is particularly characteristic of this period. It was not, however, uniing evidence of inscriptions, texts or even general historical ing evidence of inscriptions, texts or even general historical circumstances, and will not be sought here. A study like this can only point to resemblances and suggest that some monuments are apture.

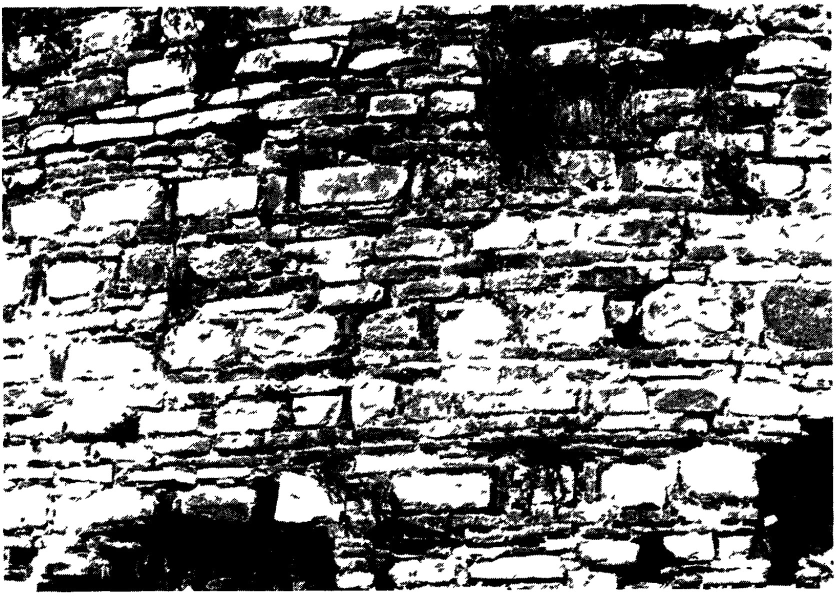
Equally important is the variation within one structure. The walls of Constantinople are the obvious example since the two sections of wall attributed to Manuel Komnenos appear to be radically different. Because of this, the northern walls have sometimes been assigned to the Palaiologi.[32] In fact, they appear to be roughly contemporary with the southern, but the reign of Manuel was so long that the two parts could have been separated by a generation and still be described by Choniates (or anyone else) as walls of Manuel. Precision, therefore, is not attainable without the supporting evidence of inscriptions, texts or even general historical circumstances, and will not be sought here. A study like this can only point to resemblances and suggest that some monuments are approximately contemporary. The walls of Pergamon present a less extreme example of variation where many sections appear to have a far different style from others. While all the variations cannot be explained and later repairs are by no means excluded, an investigation can point out elements which the whole circuit has in common and suggest that it is basically the work of one period. Here, as in the case of Laskarid fortresses, an aesthetic element is present: the Byzantines devoted more care to the appearance of highly visible and strategic towers and walls (such as those beside gates) than to long stretches which were out of sight. A fortification, therefore, needs to be considered in its entirety. If only a small piece survives, the conclusions will be more tentative.

With these caveats in mind, it is possible to suggest some elements characteristic of the masonry of Komnene fortifications or, more accurately, of fortifications of John and Manuel whose reigns occupied most of the twelfth century. The fragmentary and disputed examples of the work of Alexios, like the sole fortress of Romanos IV, do not seem to provide material for stylistic generalization. The castles of John make quite different impressions: Achyraous is richly decorated, Lopadion relatively sober. Technically, too, there are variations: Lopadion uses recessed brick and additional mortar to create a smooth surface; Achyraous does not. Likewise, Achyraous employs blocks laid on their narrow end while these do not appear at Lopadion. Both, however, are distinguished by an extensive use of brick in abundant horizontal courses alternating with the stone courses and an extensive or restrained cloisonné. The brick appears in towers and walls, but never with a careful or rigid regularity. Lacing courses are uneven and squares of cloisonné vary greatly in size even in a short stretch of wall. Both use wooden beams to anchor the facing to the inner core.

The walls of Manuel display considerable variety, but perhaps less than at first appears. The land walls of Constantinople have a local peculiarity which need not be sought elsewhere: except in the latest period, their makers attempted to follow the model of the original Theodosian walls, most of which still stand. These were characterized by bands of brick courses set amid neatly cut blocks. The bands, therefore, may be considered typical of the capital, reflecting the style of a far earlier age; for the present purposes, they may be removed from consideration since the builders of provincial walls, following different traditions, would not necessarily have considered them an essential element. Disregarding the bands, the walls of Manuel, like those assigned to the late twelfth century, employ horizontal courses of brick alternating with stone and occasional cloisonné; this they have in common with the more decorative parts of the walls of Pergamon. Other features of Pergamon are irregular, desultory brick courses and a coating of mortar to create a smooth surface; these appear in the southern and northern Blachernai walls respectively. The walls of Pergamon and Constantinople have elements in common with the fortresses of John, such as recessed brick and stones laid on end, yet both seem to represent a style distinct from that of the earlier walls.

In sum, as a guide to the brief investigation of undated remains which follows, especial attention need be paid to brickwork where an alternation of brick and stone courses and a regular or extensive cloisonné might be expected from the time of John or Manuel. Less careful work might characterize the latter reign, especially on less prominent parts where only scattered cloisonné and short and irregular lacing courses could appear. The brickwork from the time of John might be more elaborate and decorative than that of Manuel. Common to either reign, but not universal, are recessed brick, a smooth coating of mortar, and stones laid on end. The basic principle of a shell of stone and brick attached by wooden beams to a core of mortared rubble might be expected from any part of the period, and is indeed not diagnostic for work of the Komneni.

One fortress, that of Anaia on the coast south of Ephesos, has already been assigned to this period on the basis of style. The historical record, which only shows that the place was of sufficient importance to have a bishop throughout the Byzantine period and that it rose to some prominence in the thirteenth century, provides no evidence for dating the walls, nor has a building inscription been found.[33] The fortifications, which have been published in admirable detail, consist of sixteen towers which include a large keep, and curtain walls which surround a low hill overlooking the sea. The interior is filled with deposits so that only the outer face of the walls may be studied, and these are considerably overgrown. Both walls and towers show a complete unity of style, with spoils and roughly squared fieldstones arranged in irregular courses. (Fig. 22) Single, double or triple brick courses separate each row of stones, but frequently do not appear in a regular or consistent pattern. Vertical bricks provide a good deal of cloisonné. Rows of cloisonné often alternate with plain rows of stone to form an overall decorative pattern. Bricks and stones form a facing attached by beams to a core of mortared rubble.



22 Anaia: Detail of tower

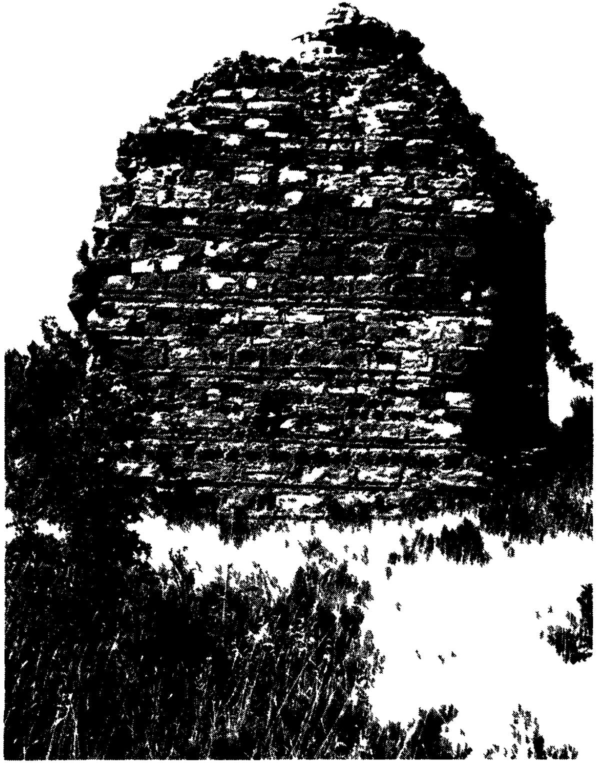
These walls have been tentatively, and reasonably, dated to the late Komnene or early Laskarid period. This dating is subject to some revision in the light of the material already presented. At first sight, the walls of Anaia appear to resemble those of Tripolis on the Maiander or other Laskarid castles; those, however, use cloisonné sparingly if at all.[34] Comparison might equally be made with the sections of the walls of Nikaia built by Theodore Laskaris in the early thirteenth century. Towers of its inner walls, however, use a more regular and elaborate cloisonné while the outer walls employ both brick and cloisonné less consistently.[35] The closest parallels for the frequent brick courses and bands of cloisonné are to be found in Komnene walls, most closely perhaps at Lopadion. While this alone is not sufficient for assigning a precise date, it would at least suggest that the fortress of Anaia was a product of the mid-twelfth century, if not earlier. Historically, a date in the reign of Alexios would be appropriate. At that time, these coastlands were being regained and needed to be secured against pirates and Crusaders as well as Turks, and much work of restoration was carried out along them after 1108. Since parallels for that epoch are lacking, such an assignment can only be tentative, but in any case, the walls may be seen as a product of the Komneni.

A fortress in the region of Pergamon offers the possibility of fairly precise dating since the criteria of style assign it a specific place in the historical record. It is now merely called Asar, "Remains," as are many castles and ruins; its ancient or medieval name is unknown. The ruin stands some 475 meters above the plain of Caicos, thirteen kilometers up the valley called Kara Dere southeast of the market town of Kınık, which lies in the plain eighteen kilometers from Pergamon. The location appears to be remote – the site does not even contain a village – but in fact the castle dominates a small plain and the impressive remains of a stone aqueduct on arches, apparently from the prosperous days of the Karaosmanogullan in the eighteenth century, crosses the stream below the castle. In Ottoman times, the direct post route from Bergama to Manisa passed through here. In addition, the valley seems the most probable route for the Roman road which led from Pergamon directly to Sardis via Apollonis.[36] The castle could thus have had the strategic function of defending the road and river crossing as well as protecting the small plain and serving as a refuge for the inhabitants of the Kaikos valley, only a few kilometers away by the most direct route.

The walls of Asar once encircled the top of an exceptionally steep hill overlooking the small plain on the east and a valley which led to the Kaikos on the west. Most of the walls are now ruined, leaving only piles of stone and rubble strewn along the upper slopes. Two ruined towers, not much more than mortared rubble cores, stand on the north and south sides. Their remaining facing seems to consist only of coursed rubble with little if any brick. More interesting is a tower on the west side whose facing is largely intact and which stands almost to its original height. (Fig. 23) This tower makes a striking and colorful impression by its abundant and decorative brickwork. Double rows of brick alternate with two or three rows of irregularly arranged squared fieldstones. In some cases, small round stones set in mortar form a partial or entire course. Many bricks are inserted vertically between the double courses. Those above a course form cloisonné with a single course of bricks above it, but the others are inserted decoratively without corresponding horizontal bricks. (Fig. 24) In the cloisonné squares, much mortar has been added around the irregularly shaped stones. Both the square main part of the tower and its round upper projection are decorated in a similar colorful fashion. Beam holes show that this facing was anchored to the inner core of coarse mortared rubble in which no brick was employed.

This elaborate decoration finds no exact parallel in the walls which have been studied, but plainly fits into the general stylistic context of Komnenian masonry, and might seem closest to the fortresses of John. Correlation with a historical source may enable a more precise date to be assigned. Niketas Choniates, describing the establishment of the Neokastra, specifies that Manuel built castles in the broad plains around Pergamon, Adramyttion and Chliara to protect the people of the region who formerly had been exposed to Turkish attack because they lived in open villages. As far as I am aware, none of these fortresses has been identified, nor are any fortresses known in the broad plains, by which the Kaikos valley primarily would have been meant. Asar, however, lies near the valley and has a magnificent view over it; it could probably be reached on foot from the edge of the plain in an hour or two. It is ideally located for the protection of inhabitants of the plain as well as for defense. Other castles in the region of Pergamon stand similarly just within the protection of the mountains at the edge of the valley, the most notable being Chliara itself whose location at the village of Tarhala above Soma I have established and will discuss elsewhere. There is therefore no reason to doubt that Asar represents one of the Neokastra, the only one so far identified and the only one so far discovered which preserves a distinctive masonry. It may therefore be dated between 1162 and 1173, contemporary with the walls of Pergamon.

The historical record thus puts Asar among the works of Manuel, although it is rather different in style from those so far considered. Its walls are more decorative than those of Pergamon and of a more complex style than those of the Blachernai; there seems to be no close parallel for the courses of round stones or the vertical brick without cloisonné. Yet the similarities with Pergamon may once have been greater, for the other towers apparently had little or no decoration, and the contrast between an elaborate



23 Asar: Main surviving tower

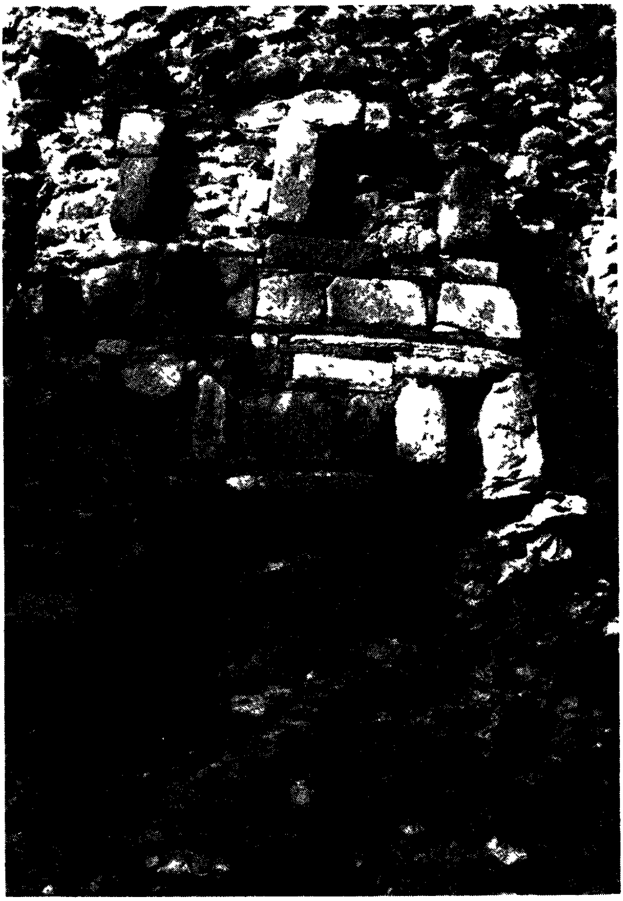
24 Asar Detail of tower

main tower and plain secondary ones is a phenomenon already noted in the greater fortress. Asar may in any case stand as an example of the variety which exists even among works of one closely defined period.

The fortifications which remain to be studied briefly here fall into two groups: those which appear to date entirely from the Komnene period, and those where that age made more or less substantial or additions. They are distributed over western Asia Minor from Bithynia in the north to Lycia in the south and include parts of the most important fortresses of the country. The first group consists of only two rather small forts in Mysia, both on the Makestos and equidistant, at about forty kilometers, from the modern center of Balıkesir.

The southern of these stands on a round hill whose steep faces overlook the town of Bigadiç and the plain of the Makestos which is here especially broad and fertile. Upstream and down, the river is more closely surrounded by mountains and has to pass through narrow gorges. The modern town prospers from its location on the main highway between Istanbul and Izmir, but such was not the case in the Byzantine period when the main road, as already noted, passed by Achyraous, further to the west. In the time of the Komneni, however, the castle would have had a strategic function controlling the route which led down the Makestos from Synaos and the Phrygian borderlands to the rich plains of Mysia. This route was convenient for Turkish attacks, and is specifically mentioned in 1112, when a force was sent westward through Synaos and thus presumably by Bigadiç.[37] The medieval name, from which the modern is derived, was Pegadia. Beyond its mention in a text of the ninth century, nothing is known of its history.[38]

The walls and towers of Pegadia have survived in relatively poor condition. Most of the remains consist merely of rubble cores, but a few towers and an occasional stretch of wall preserve some facing. Much of the circuit on the east has disappeared. The fortress was of substantial size, though smaller than Achyraous; the area within the walls has been estimated at two acres.[39] The visible facing appears to consist of a crudely alternating pattern of large and small squared stones, many apparently spoils. The blocks form irregular courses which include many rectangular stones laid on their narrow ends. In the towers toward the city, brick forms hori-

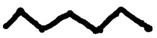


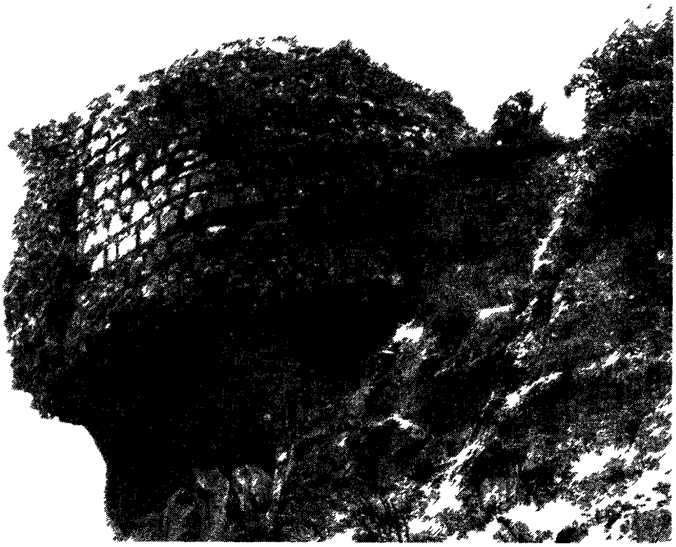
25 Pegadia: Detail of tower

zontal courses and some cloisonné (Fig 25) Most of the brick appears to be reused, in sections of wall away from the town, fragmentary bricks are placed side by side to form courses In some cases, fragments of brick are inserted parallel to the courses to fill gaps between irregular fieldstones The towers toward the town have a more regular facing with square cut stones, but one of them makes a less careful use of stone with only occasional filling of broken brick; it may be a later repair. The towers were constructed with crib-work, that is, beams perpendicular to the facing to anchor it to the core and others running parallel to the surface to hold it together

The remains of this facing, although fragmentary, suffice to suggest an association with the Komnenian fortresses by their use of brick coursing and cloisonné and by their distinctive rectangular blocks placed on end. In general arrangement, though not in decoration, the walls of Pegadia seem related to those of Achyraous, and they might tentatively be assigned to the reign of John. At that time, western Asia Minor was at peace and fortresses were being built to consolidate Byzantine rule and protect lands and roads. Pegadia, which is in the same region as Achyraous (they would be about thirty kilometers apart in a direct line if there were not a large mountain between them) and fulfills the same function of protecting an important road, could perhaps be seen as a fortress roughly contemporary with its more famous neighbor.

The other fortress which seems to be entirely of this time lies in an even more strategic location on a hill overlooking the Makestos northeast of Balıkesir about five kilometers before the town of Susurluk. It stand near a place called Sultan Çayir; its former name is unknown. The castle controls a river crossing whose manifest importance is shown by the pathetic remains of a Roman bridge whose masonry and brick arches once stretched 300 meters across the Makestos.[40] The road along the river was the main highway between the Propontis and the Kaikos and Hermos valleys; the castle overlooks the junction where the road to the upper Makestos valley branched off to the south. Since this route was a favorite of the Turkish invasions, its defense would have been essential in the Komnene period.

A quarrying operation has removed virtually the entire hill which supported the fortress, leaving only one tower and a short stretch of wall precariously balanced on the side facing the bridge. (Fig. 26) Access is difficult, but sufficient remains survive to illustrate the style of masonry and method of construction. The tower was covered by the usual shell of brick and stone attached to the core by wooden beams. In it, large blocks, some evidently spoils, form regular courses separated by courses of brick. One course employs square cut spoils; in the others stones of various sizes are arranged in single or double rows to fill up the width of a course. The stones are separated by a filling of brick fragments, sometimes by vertical bricks which form a cloisonné and occasionally by bricks in a decorative pattern, thus  . The upper



26 Sultan Çayır Lone surviving tower

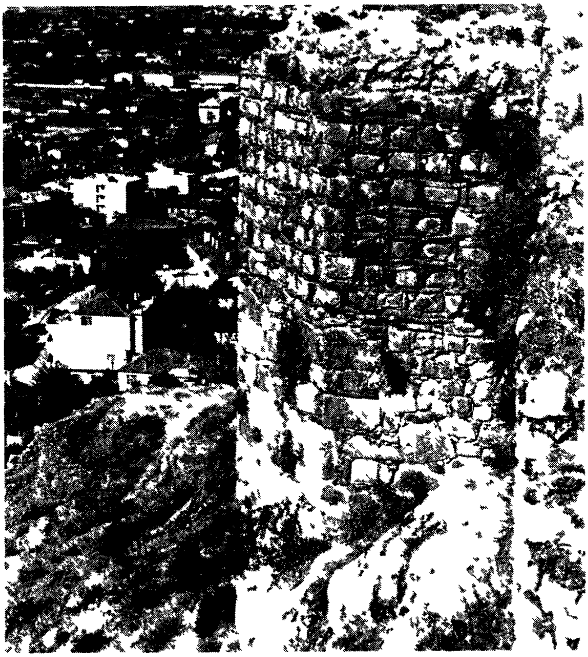
courses of smaller stones are now mostly missing. The lowest courses, not intended to be seen, were of mortared rubble while the foundations, of which large parts are exposed, contain numerous beam holes. These show that the tower was constructed on a wooden platform covered with mortar.

Even such sparse remains have a style which may be associated with the Komneni. The use of regular courses of spoils and fieldstones with intervening parallel courses of brick would suggest a date in this period, as would the occasional use of cloisonné. In these aspects, the tower is reminiscent of Pergamon or Constantinople. The occasional brick decoration, however, suggests a connection with Achyraous, and historical considerations would favor a date earlier rather than later in the period for the defense of such a vital road, junction and crossing. The castle is thus perhaps to be attributed to John and associated with what might have been a large project affecting the whole region. If the attribution is correct, it reveals a certain local variation in style not inconsistent with monuments whose dates are well established.

The fortresses which appear to have been rebuilt or expanded by the Komneni are situated in separate regions: two in Bithynia, one in Ionia and one in Lycia. The southernmost, about which least is known, may be considered first. It overlooks Telmessos, the modern Fethiye, also called Makre in Byzantine times. Little is recorded of the medieval history of the town which has an excellent port on a broad gulf and apparently prospered from the production of incense and export of timber as well as from the other products of the fertile plain which it commands. It came under Turkish rule by the Laskarid period, most probably in the closing years of the twelfth century.[41]

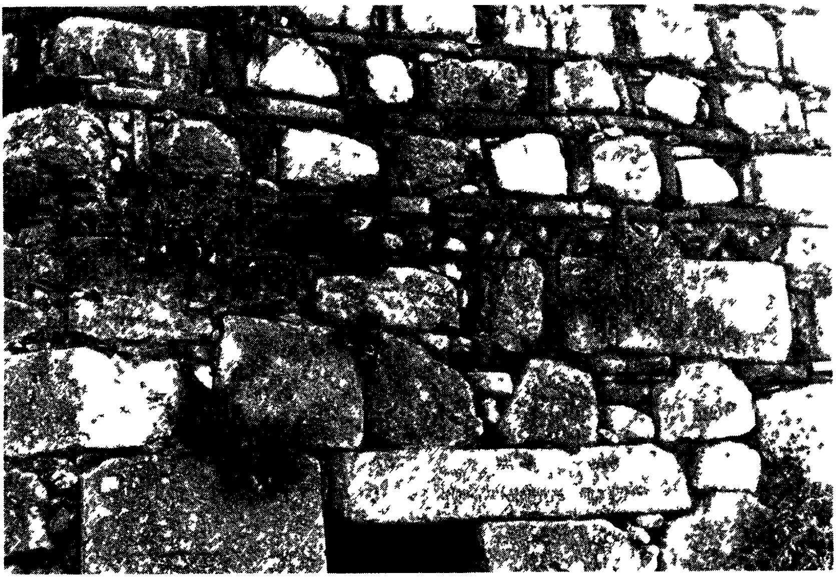
The large and complex fortress of Telmessos, which stands in relatively good condition above the center of the modern town, seems not to have attracted notice. It consists of two parts, a lower wall which encloses a substantial area and an upper wall around the crest of the hill. The lower wall, which includes some curtain, square and round towers and a gate approached along a protected roadway, need not be considered here since the various stages of its construction all seem appropriate to earlier epochs, from the Hellenistic to the Dark Ages. The upper wall, however, has characteristics which associate it with the Komneni fortifications. It contains two pentagonal towers on the north and four round towers with most of the curtain wall. The square towers and the wall connecting them have lower courses of spoils with some filling of brick fragments and a superstructure of irregularly coursed fieldstones with a higher proportion of brick. The bricks sometimes form irregular courses. In general, the work in the towers is superior to that in the walls, especially so in the pentagonal towers which display a far different use of brick. In the superstructure of these towers, rows of brick alternate with fieldstones in regular courses. (Fig. 27) Each stone is separated from its neighbor by vertical bricks which form a widespread, if rather rough, cloisonné. In the second pentagonal tower, the lower part of the western face, toward the city, displays a row of brick decoration in a simple zigzag pattern. (Fig. 28)

This upper wall performed a function different from that of the walls so far studied. Instead of containing a broad area suitable for a garrison or residences, it has behind it only a couple of cisterns – one walled with a regular cloisonné – and a steep cliff



27 (above) Telmessos Pentagonal tower

28 (below) Telmessos Detail of masonry of pentagonal tower

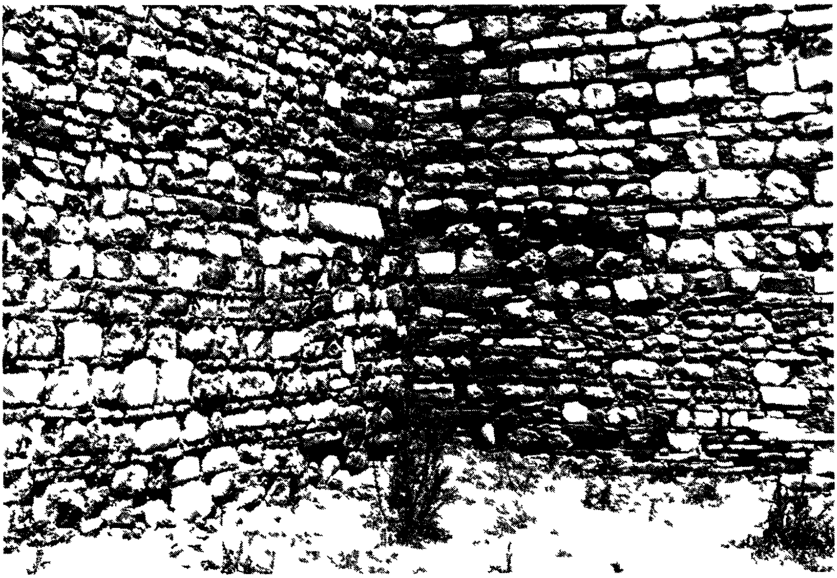


dropping off to a river gorge. The wall was thus not designed to protect what lay behind but to overshoot the lower walls and to protect the enclosed area. In a desperate situation, the crest of the hill could probably have served as a redoubt for a last stand, but its small size would have prevented it from acting as the acropolis of the town or a normal citadel.

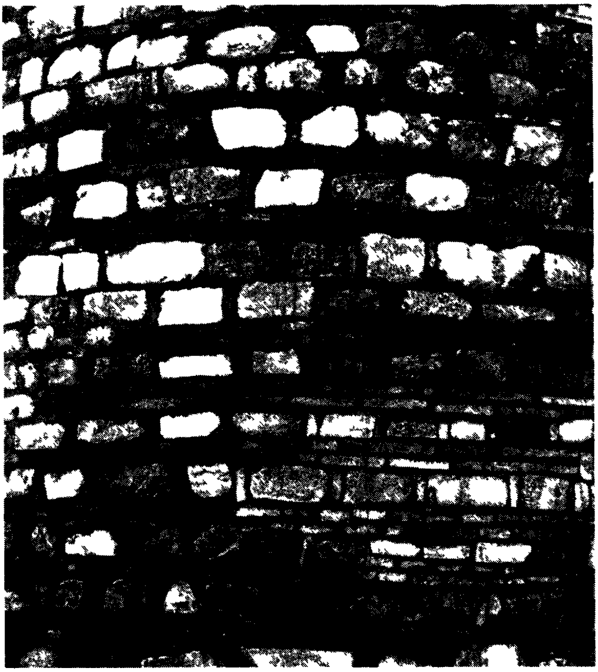
Historical circumstances aid in dating the upper wall of Telmessos. Since it was in Turkish hands by the thirteenth century, it was not built by the Laskarids, nor does it resemble Turkish work. There is thus no problem in assigning it to the Komneni, while analogy with the walls of Pergamon might suggest a date in the reign of Manuel. There, a rather rough cloisonné also appears in highly visible towers while most of the work is an irregular combination of brick and rubble with only occasional courses. At Pergamon also, the contrast in decoration between the main towers and other parts of the walls is prominent.[42]

The final fortifications to be considered here are those of three of the great cities of ancient Asia Minor which, however reduced in size, retained considerable importance in Byzantine times. Two of them, Ephesos and Nikaia, have been studied in considerable detail to which little need be added, while the third, Nikomedia, is virtually unknown and only a brief introduction may be attempted here.

Ephesos, once the metropolitan center of the Aegean region, had declined in the middle ages to become an inland fortress around the hill which contained the cathedral church and tomb of Saint John the Evangelist. The original fortifications, which contain the entrance known as the Gate of Persecutions, date to the Dark Ages, probably the seventh century. The walls around the upper citadel display three periods of construction of which the first uses large coursed spoils, and the other two, not easily distinguished, regularly coursed smaller stones.[43] These stages appear on the south side of the citadel toward the town; none is dated with certainty. On the east and north sides, however, other styles of wall appear in association with the third phase. These include a simple alternation of single courses of reused brick and fieldstones; a more elaborate pattern with many double brick courses and whole or partial courses of cloisonné; and a cloisonné in which mortar has been added around the stones to produce a smooth square within the brick. (Figs. 29, 30) Brick frequently appears in the filling, often



29 (above) Ephesos Masonry of citadel, west side
30 (below) Ephesos Detail of tower, east side

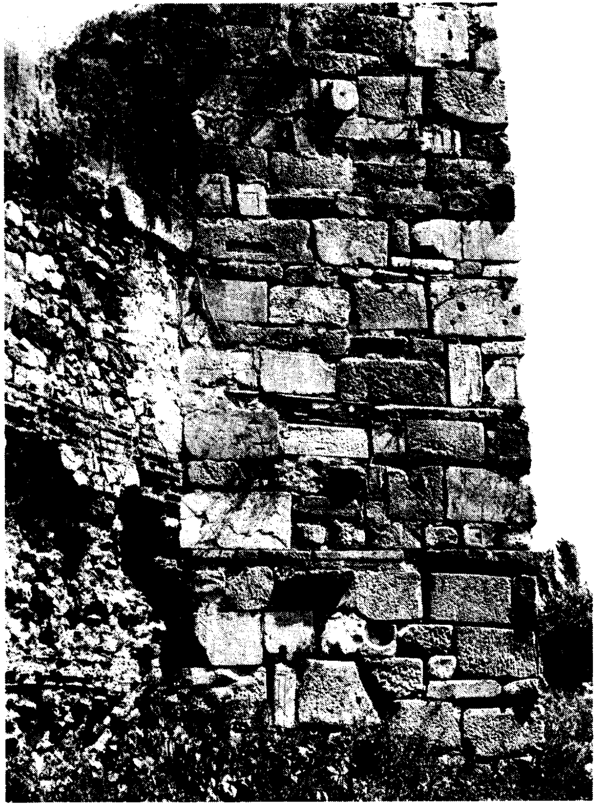


as broken fragments inserted parallel to the courses. Holes show that beams once lay perpendicular and parallel to the surface.[44] While analysis of these sections in relation to the entire circuit of walls is beyond the scope of the present discussion, such features suggest that parts of the walls were rebuilt under the Komneni and perhaps point to the reign of Manuel when this less careful style seems to have prevailed. The experience of the Second Crusade, which had to battle the Turks outside Ephesos in 1147, certainly indicates that well-maintained fortifications were needed at that time.

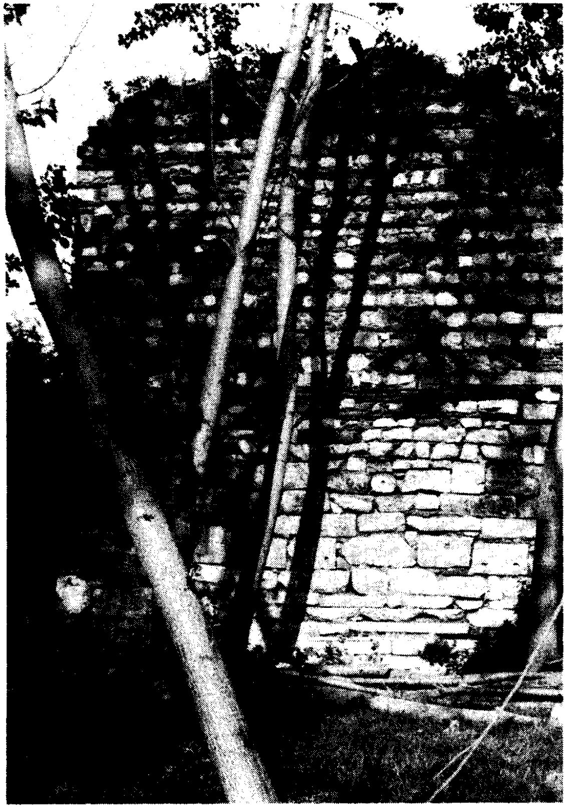
The great walls of Nikaia, one of the finest examples of late antique and Byzantine fortification, display an enormous and bewildering variety of masonry. In spite of the detailed work which has been done, many problems of dating remain, all too complicated to approach here.[45] It may perhaps suffice to consider only two towers, one attributed to Alexios, and the other probably Komnene, as representative of the rich and complex material which these walls present.

During the siege of 1097, the soldiers of the First Crusade destroyed a great tower which stood on the southern side of the walls. A bastion added to a corner of the southern walls has been plausibly identified as a repair made by the Byzantines who reoccupied the city after the siege. It consists of a shell of spoils of varying shapes and sizes arranged in rough courses in which large square blocks alternate irregularly with long thin ones. (Fig. 31) The spoils include many inscribed in Arabic, apparently from the brief Seljuk occupation. The rough joints between the stones are filled with a smooth pink mortar. A superstructure of recessed brick, of which traces were visible fifty years ago, has now disappeared.[46] This bastion, by its crude and seemingly hasty assemblage of spoils without brick or any attempt at decoration may fit into the same category as the repairs carried out at Didyma, and stand as another example of the work of Alexios.

Many sections of the walls and towers of Nikaia show repairs in recessed brickwork or in an alternation of single brick and stone courses. Much of this work is no doubt attributed to the Komneni, but it must first be distinguished as far as possible from work carried out after the destructive earthquake of 1065 or later by the Laskarids whose rebuilding of the walls appears to have been more extensive than previously supposed. I shall therefore confine my remarks to one example, tower no. 83, which stands by the shore just north of the Lake Gate. (Fig. 32) This has a base of roughly



31. Nikaia: Bastion outside tower 106.

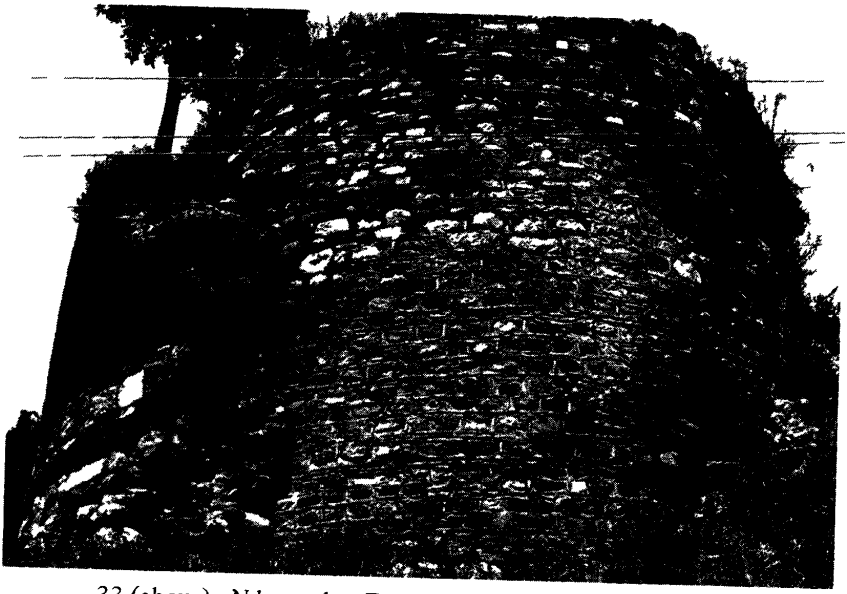


32. Nikaia: Tower 83.

coursed spoils of various sizes, somewhat more carefully arranged than those of the bastion just described. Interstices are filled with small stones or large pieces of brick. Above, there is an alternation of rubble and brick courses. Most of the brick courses are single, some are double in part, one is triple and a course near the top contains a brick frieze.[47] In this case, also, the walls of Pergamon, and to some extent those of Istanbul, seem to offer a parallel and to suggest assignment of this tower and sections of wall like it to the time of Manuel or in any event to the Komnene era.

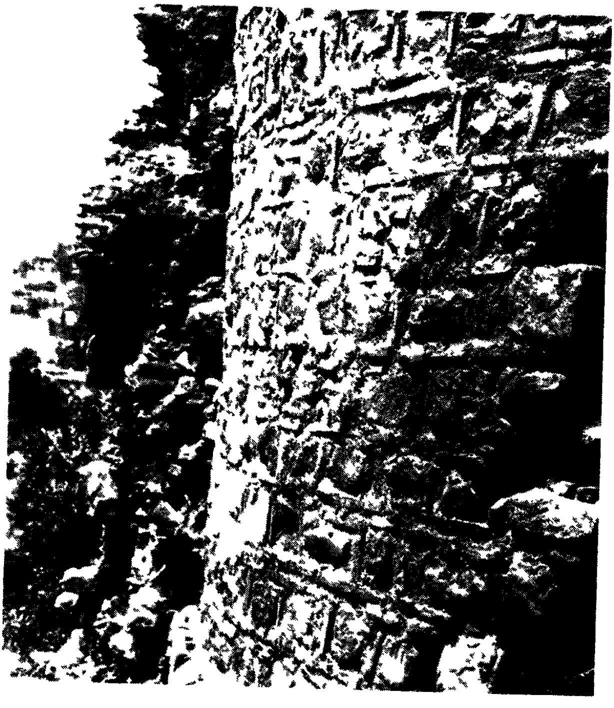
The walls of the other great Bithynian city, Nikomedia, deserve a more thorough study than can be attempted here, where it will suffice merely to draw attention to some sections whose characteristics suggest a Komnene date. The Byzantine town occupied an oval hilltop about a kilometer by 500 meters in extent which overlooked the gulf and the vast expanse of ancient Nikomedia from a formidable height. The castle contained some nineteen towers of which about half survive along with a somewhat lower proportion of the connecting wall.[48] It is built in a variety of styles ranging from the Hellenistic to the Turkish. One of them which is certainly Byzantine may be considered here.

Two of the better preserved towers and parts of others are built with coursed fieldstones separated by irregular single and double courses of brick and with a widespread and somewhat irregular cloisonné in which many bricks are inserted at various angles close to the vertical. The individual squares thus formed are filled with mortar which produces a smooth surface but frequently obscures the decorative pattern. One remarkable tower on the southwest, which overlooks most of the town and may have been especially important from its size and location, has a shell entirely of cloisonné. (Figs. 33, 34) Here, as elsewhere, the brick appears to be reused and fragmentary bricks are laid parallel to the horizontal courses to fill gaps between the stones. Beam holes show that the usual shell and core construction was used. The southwest tower shows two large cracks, perhaps the result of an earthquake, which impelled other Byzantine builders to construct a new shell around it. This was largely of brick with courses of spoils and large stones in cloisonné near the base. It appears, by analogy with the unpublished walls of Magnesia, to be of Laskarid date. Ironically, the new shell has almost entirely fallen away, leaving the original



33 (above) Nikomedia Tower of citadel with double shell

34 (below) Nikomedia Citadel tower, detail



cracked tower behind. There seems every reason to attribute this original facing to the Komneni. Such extensive use of cloisonné, especially in a prominent place, seems typical, and belongs perhaps earlier rather than later in the period. Historically, a date in the reign of Alexios after the recapture of Nikomedia from the Turks who briefly occupied it and apparently left it in ruins, would seem justified, but stylistic parallels are lacking. For the moment, such a suggestion may be advanced as an hypothesis awaiting further research.

The conclusions of this preliminary survey of Komnene fortifications in Asia Minor are simple: such works exist in substantial numbers and may be identified by a common style, or styles, of construction and decoration. Many others no doubt remain to be discovered or identified among already known monuments, and future researches should do much to advance knowledge of style and technique of fortification in this and other periods. Such material should make it possible to gain a better understanding of the methods which the emperors adopted to defend these rich and strategically located lands against the Turkish onslaught. When further fortresses are identified and plotted on maps, points and routes which were considered especially crucial at the time should become evident, and such information could be correlated with the historical record. This kind of work may also help to fill the void which has so far existed in our knowledge of Komnene architecture in Asia Minor. If some or even many of the conclusions here presented need revision in the light of future research, they will have served their purpose by drawing attention to another example of the often unexpected treasures which Asia Minor still has to offer to the archaeologist or historian of Byzantium.

NOTES

1. For the regions considered here, see A.M. Schneider, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea), Istanbuler Forschungen* 9 (Berlin, 1938); C. Foss, "Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 297-320; E. de Jerphanion, "Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne," *MélUSJ* 13 (1928), 1-332; and the meticulous works of W. Müller-Wiener "Mittelälterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 5-122; and "Die Stadbefestigungen von Ismir, Siğacik und Çandarli," *IstMitt* 12 (1962) 59-114.

2. Consider, for example, the recent Dumbarton Oaks bibliography for Turkey in which the indispensable works of F.W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, 1910); C. Schuchardt, "Historische Topographie der Landschaft," in A. Conze *et al., Altertümer von Pergamon* I.1, *Stadt und Landschaft* (Berlin, 1912) and Th. Wiegand, "Reisen in Mysien," *AthMitt* 29 (1904) 254-339 do not appear.

3. Such a void is not unique: see the recent study of H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 261-96, which identified and described the previously unknown Laskarid style of architecture.

4. The present discussion of fortifications is basically preliminary to a larger work which I am preparing in collaboration with David Winfield. Komnene monuments will appear there in greater detail and in the broader context of the development of Byzantine fortifications. I intend also to discuss Komnene Asia Minor elsewhere; the pages which follow make no pretense to originality, but are mostly based on facts which can be found in the works of S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1971); C. Cahen, "La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 5-67, reprinted in *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London, 1974); and idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968).

5. See the pioneering work of H. Ahrweiler, "Les forteresses construites en Asie Mineure face à l'invasion seldjoucide," *Akten XI. Byz. Kongr.* (Munich, 1958), pp. 182-89 where the work of the Komneni is outlined in an historical context.

6. The inscription will be published by Dr. Thomas Drew-Bear to whom I am grateful for making his transcription available.

7. W.H. Buckler, W.M. Calder, W.K.C. Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 149 and xiii-xiv with plates 5-7 for description and views of the site.

8. See below, n. 20.

9. H. Grégoire (ed.), *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1922) 226^8 with dating established by Ahrweiler, "Les forteresses," p. 184 n. 23.

10. See Foss, "Archeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 478f. with references; the walls are published by Müller-Wiener "Befestigungen," pp. 38-42.

11. Th. Wiegand, *Didyma* I.2 (Berlin, 1941), Taf. 23 (F 15, 17), 26 (F 28, 29), 40-42 (F 62-66).

12. The neighboring castle of Miletos, although assigned to the Komnene period, has not been included here because the proposed chronology, however plausible, is not clerarly supported by the evidence of sources or style: see W. Müller-Wiener, "Das Theaterkastell von Milet," *IstMitt* 17 (1967) 279-90. Similarly, other castles known from the sources to have been built by Alexios do not appear in the following pages. No trace remains of the Byzantine walls of Adramyttion nor, apparently, of Kibotos; the castle called Sidera by Lake Baanes has not been located; and, while much is still standing in Attalea, it appears impossible to distinguish the various periods of its construction. On these, see Ahrweiler, "Les fortresses." The same kind of problems affect other fortresses of John and Manuel which are not discussed here: on all these, see *ibid.*

13. Anna Komnena XI. x. 9-10.

14.. E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua II: Meriamlik und Korykos, zwei christliche Ruinenstätten des Rauhen Kilikiens* (Manchester, 1930), pp. 168-79; H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien* (Bonn, 1976), pp. 242-47. D. Winfield will propose the earlier date on what appears to be convincing grounds. I have omitted from this discussion the island fortress, Herzfeld and Guyer, *Monumenta* II, 161-68; Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, pp. 242-47, which is attributed to be Armenians, but not without further controversy.

15. Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, pp. 249-54.

16. For its history, plan, and description, see Hasluk, *Cyzicus*, pp. 78-83.

17. Its history is surveyed by Hasluk, *Cyzicus*, p. 93f.

18. For the various walls of Pergamon, see A. Conze, *Altertümer von Pergamon I.2: Stadt und Landschaft* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 299-308.

19. The remaining southern wall of the citadel, which includes a ruined outer wall or *proteichisma*, shows various phases of repair which pose problems beyond the scope of this discussion.

20. The similarity between these brick courses and the flat stone courses of Sozopolis suggests a Komnenian date for the latter.

21. The land walls have been published and studied in admirable detail by B. Meyer-Plath and A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* II (Berlin, 1943) who follow and expand upon the shorter but clearer treatment of A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899), pp. 122-53. Some aspects of the later sections of these walls will be reconsidered in C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Studies in Byzantine Fortifications* (forthcoming). I have excluded from consideration the sea walls of the capital, even though one well-preserved tower, no. 93, immediately to the east of Narlı Kapı, bears an inscription which re-

veals that it was rebuilt by Manuel Komnenos in 1164; van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 187 with line drawing, and F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihten Önce Marmara Surlan* (Istanbul, 1953), figs. 103, 155. Unfortunately for the present purposes, this tower is built in the style which was typical of the sea walls for most periods of their existence and thus is of little value for comparison. It consists of five or six rows of small squared marble blocks, many of them apparently spoils, alternating with bands of five bricks. A detailed study of the sea walls with good photographs might contribute much to the present subject, but a preliminary inspection, which showed how much has disappeared in modern times, was not encouraging.

22. Choniates 500, 719.

23. For these walls and the problem they present, see van Milligen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 122-53 and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer*, pp. 109-17.

24. See the descriptions of the individual towers and walls in Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer*, pp. 111-14.

25. *Ibid.*, 140 no. 60.

26. Choniates 580; for what follows see Meyer-Plath and Schneider *Die Landmauer*, pp. 114-17, largely based on van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 131-53.

27. In addition to the reasons stated, there is no other tower in the region which would suit the description of Choniates.

28. By rhythmical, I mean a pattern of stone and brick in which the number of brick courses in each band varies in a fixed or predictable way. On these patterns, see the important preliminary work of B. Aran, "The Church of Saint Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Euergetes," *JÖB*, 28 (1979), 211-28.

29. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Die Landmauer*, p. 137 no. 48.

30. Thin bricks: *ibid.*, 112f. on Blachernae tower 4 and wall 7/8.

31. The alternation of brick courses is roughly thus (counted from photographs and therefore approximate): 5.1.1.3.5.3.3.1.5.Cornice.2.3.2.5. 2.1.2.5.2.2.3.5.3.2.3. These figures represent the number of brick courses alternating with each course of stone; they may be compared with Aran, "The Church," p. 227 Table 4.

32. For example, by van Millingen *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 125-27 and map facing 115.

33. Müller-Weiner, "Befestigungen," pp. 65-74.

34. Foss, "Late Byzantine," p. 301 *et passim.*

35. Schneider, *Die Stadtmauer*, pp. 16-43 *passim*, Taf. 21, 49. The walls of Nikaia will be the subject of a detailed analysis in Foss and Windfield, *Studies* (forthcoming).

36. Schuchhardt, "Historische Topographie," p. 130f. first noted and described the remains and determined their altitude; he mentions the Ottoman road. For the Roman road, see Strabo XIII.iv.3-5.

37. Anna Komnena XIV.iii. 7.

38. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (2nd ed., Paris, 1962), 429 n.3; cf. *idem*, "Documents d' Asie Mineure," *BCH* 102 (1978), p. 451.

39. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* (London, 1842), II, p. 115f.

40. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 131f. with reconstructed drawing from Wiegand "Reisen in Mysien." The date of the bridge has not been determined. Although called Roman, it has some of the characteristics of later work, with brick decoration and beamholes. Its massive and neat construction, however, would seem to preclude a date later than the sixth century.

41. Sources for the medieval history of Telmessos are summarized in W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter," *Sitzungsberichte Wien*, 1891, p. 44; for the Turkish conquest, see P. Wittek, Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul, 1934), p. 2.

42. The possibility naturally exists that the part of the wall with square towers and cruder masonry might be a later addition, a question which a more detailed survey could easily resolve.

43. Detailed descriptions with plans and photographs in Müller-Wiener, "Befestigungen," pp. 91-106; for the history of Ephesos, see C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979).

44. Müller-Wiener, "Befestigungen," pp. 101-04 *passim* supplemented by personal inspection.

45. Schneider, *Die Stadtmauer*; cf. note 35 above.

46. *Ibid.*, 35, 41; Taf. 48.

47. *Ibid.*, 33 with Taf. 38.

48. For an accurate plan (without scale) and brief description, see N. Firatli, *Izmit Rehberi* (Istanbul, 1959), 4, 16-18. The walls will be discussed in Foss and Winfield *Studies* (forthcoming).

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PANAYIOTES CHRESTOU

THE ECUMENICAL CHARACTER OF THE FIRST SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 381

The Reception of the Synod

The role of the First Synod of Constantinople, the Second Ecumenical Synod, was of great importance in the life of the Church because this was the synod that put a definite end to the Arian controversy and gave to the Church a symbol (creed) which is still solemnly recited in all major Christian confessions. The synod was highly appreciated by all with an ecclesiastical consciousness, at least after the time of the Synod of Chalkedon (451), and its ecumenical character was not doubted from that point on. The influence of the synod was, of course, stronger in the East, whose rich pneumatology is, to a great degree, indebted to it. The content of the kneeling prayers of the Feast of Pentecost resound the spirit of Saint Basil, the inspirer of the synod, and its hymnography resounds the spirit of Gregory (the Theologian) Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the synod's champions.

However, modern scholars almost unanimously contend that initially the synod's character was not ecumenical, which means that its authority is posterior and borrowed and, therefore, not completely equal to that of other ecumenical synods. De Urbina, for example, states without hesitation the following in his recent book on the synod: "It is a peculiar thing that in the series of the ecumenical councils we find even this council, bearing the title 'First Ecumenical Council of Constantinople,' whereas in reality it is not, and did not want to be, a general council. It was convened by Theodosios who governed only the East, and invited only the bishops of the Eastern Provinces."[1]

Western theologians and historians insist on the synod's local character because of the intense displeasure caused in the West by its decisions. Their contention, constantly repeated, is that the synod was ignored and passed by in silence for seventy years, until the Synod of Chalkedon. But this thesis is by no means correct. It is true that the synod is not mentioned by the Synod of Ephesos, whereas the Nicene Synod is. But this fact can be explained by the mood which prevailed in Ephesos. Guided by Cyril of Alexandria, the fathers of Ephesos followed a line that was unfavorable to the see of Constantinople. It was quite natural for them to keep silent on a synod which had issued a canon elevating Constantinople to second place at the expense of Alexandria, which was demoted to third place. The same may be said about the Synod of 449. Naming it a "second synod," after Nikaia and before Ephesos, the Synod of Chalkedon explicitly gave it the position it always possessed in the consciousness of the Eastern Church.[2]

In the West its ecumenical authority was questioned from the first instance, with Ambrose of Milan as a spokesman. Ambrose asked the emperors to convoke an (supposedly real) ecumenical synod in Alexandria or Rome,[3] whose main task would be to sanction the decisions made by the Synod of Constantinople about disputed persons in the Eastern hierarchy. These persons, known and referred to in Ambrose's letters, were Meletios of Antioch and his successor Flavianos and Gregory the Theologian and his successor Nektarios. They were recognized by the Easterners as canonical bishops, against Paulinos and Maximos the Cynic, who in turn were recognized by the Westerners and the Alexandrians. The reexamination demanded by the Westerners might, of course, have led to either direction, namely a sanctioning or a rejection of the decisions. Obviously, the latter course would be pursued by them, for otherwise they would not have been so anxious about the problem. Indeed, all the decisions of the synod regarding persons and ecclesiastical order displeased the West and were rejected by them. This is why, after the disappearance of these individuals, the synod was put in a condition of oblivion by the West until the Synod of Chalkedon intervened, bringing it to the forefront of even the Western church. Therefore, ignorance of the synod was, indeed, observed, but only in the West. Western historians who have dealt with the subject, seeing that the West had kept silent, declared that the whole world kept silent, which, as we shall see, is not true.

Theodoretos, asserting that Theodosios "ordered the bishops of his own state to hasten to Constantinople; for this only had been filled up by the Arian leprosy, while the West remained free of that sickness,"[4] offers a compromise solution. The participation of three or four bishops from the West in such a synod is, perhaps, for a historian not of great importance. The weak representation of the West led Theodoretos to the conclusion that the

West was not summoned to the synod by Theodosios for two reasons: 1) because it was not part of his own hegemony, and 2) because the West had not been touched by the Arian sickness. The second part of his reasoning is certainly untrue, for even some Western provinces were attacked by the Arian heresy, as was the East. This is witnessed, not only by the subjects discussed in the Council of Aquileia in 381, but also by the well-known occurrences in Sirmium and in Ariminum some decades earlier (359). Ambrose himself admits in his letter that there was a deviation from the faith in only two parts of the West, South Dacia and Moesia; but he had forgotten his own see, Mediolanum, for years an Arian stronghold under the rule of his Arian predecessor, Auxentios. Ambrose was elected a bishop only because of the disagreements between the Orthodox and the Arians concerning Auxentios' successor. Later on we will see that also the first part of Theodoretos' information is not valid. However, modern historians present this testimony as the main argument against an authentic ecumenicity of the synod.

The Ecumenical Character of the Synod

I will try to define the character of the synod by placing it within the whole framework of events related to it. I hope that in this way I will be able to bring forth some arguments to prove that this synod, besides its theological authority due to later developments, has an ecumenical character of its own; for it was convoked as ecumenical in its main phase; it was itself conscious of its own ecumenicity; and finally, it was immediately accepted as ecumenical by the East.

The synod was convoked by Emperor Theodosios, so it could not have been meant as anything other than ecumenical. The word oikoumene signified at that time the Graeco-Roman empire. Consequently, any synod convoked by the head of the empire had a general, ecumenical character. Emperors never convoked local synods for which only archbishops and metropolitans were responsible. Theodosios' inability to invite bishops from a part of the empire which was not under his jurisdiction is an argument which cannot be taken seriously, because it is well-known that in the fourth century each emperor acted on account and in the name of all co-emperors. I would like to make reference to the decree on the Orthodox Faith which Theodosios issued in Thessalonike on 28 February 380, addressing the people of Constantinople. It bears the names of all three emperors, his own being the last because of their priority order :"Gratianus et Valentinianus et Theodosius."

Theodosios' decree convening the synod has been lost, and we do not know its exact contents, but there is no doubt that it also was issued in the name of all three emperors. In concluding this argument, I could point out that Theodosios, a dynamic emperor with a totalitarian mentality, would have been the last emperor to convene a local synod in his capital. At this point we would add some very characteristic information regarding the synodical letter of the Synod of Constantinople of 382,[5] which relates that the Eastern bishops were invited to participate in the Synod of Rome by a decree of Emperor Gratian. Why then could there not be the reverse possibility for Westerners to be invited to the Synod of Constantinople by Theodosios?

What was demanded insistently and eagerly by the Orthodox during the last forty years was not a local, but an ecumenical synod. As has been demonstrated, the difficulty of convening this synod was equal to the ease of convening the First Ecumenical Synod. Debates and disorders, arising after Nikaia, had already led Julius of Rome to propose convening an ecumenical synod. The Arians, fearing lest they suffer the same fate as in Nikaia, rejected it. They could, otherwise, arrange their affairs successfully by assembling in small groups under the protection of the Arian government. Two previous attempts, undertaken after manifold preparation, ended in division and failure: in 342 in Sardica and Philippopolis, in 359 in Ariminum and Seleucia.

Indefatigable in his efforts to bring all the leaders of the ecumenical Church together, Basil the Great wrote to Pope Damasos: "We certainly ought to examine these things in common convention with your care,"[6] knowing well how difficult such a project was under the reign of Valens, an Arian emperor. In this Basil represented the will of all Eastern Orthodoxy. But the Westerners, after being so eager in the past, were now not as favorable to such a project, since they also had reached a stage for a convenient arrangement of church affairs of the West with small assemblies in Rome and elsewhere, and with pontifical decrees. So Saint Basil died with the complaint that he was not heard and that the dogmatic problems still remained unsolved. However, he would be heard shortly after his death, and more importantly, by both emperors, Gratian and Theodosios, who in their meeting at Sirmium, in the early fall of 380, decided to convoke an ecumenical synod.

The program of the synod, as planned by Basil, was so broad that no synod of less authority would dare to undertake it. Unfortunately, we do not know the contents of the discussions conducted during its session, since the *Acta* have been lost, but we know its decisions. According to the synodical letter of the Fathers of the Synod of 382, a particular volume, a *Tomos*, had been edited "last year in Constantinople by the ecumenical synod."[7] The volume has not been preserved, perhaps because some persons prevented its circulation. In all probability, it contained the decree for convocation, the minutes of discussion, the decisions, the creed, and its explanation. It was submitted to the emperor with a letter asking him to confirm the decisions. As far as the creed was concerned, having been introduced officially in the East from the beginning, it was preserved separately. The decisions, however, have been preserved in a short synodikon, which originally was a unique text but later was divided into four canons. The letter of the synod addressed to the emperor contains a summary of them. The Fathers classify their decisions in three topics: on the canonical hierarchy of the main sees in the East; on the dogmatic subjects, and on the questions of order.

> Having been gathered in Constantinople in accordance with the letter of your Piety, first we renew concord between each other; then we declared short definitions (of faith) after we confirmed the faith of the Fathers of Nikaia and anathematized heresies sprouted against it; and finally we issued explicit canons about the good order of the churches.[8]

Indeed, it would be inconceivable for a local synod to undertake work on such a program: to sanction the Symbol of Nikaia, to edit another symbol of its own, and to condemn heresies spread throughout the East and West, one of them even limited to the West only.

A fourth sign of the synod's ecumenicity is the broad representation by the local churches. According to a general consensus, the major areas of the ecumenical Church in that period were four, having Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople as centers. Representatives of the last two areas participated in the synod from the beginning in great numbers. Two prelates from Egypt, Timotheos of Alexandria and Dorotheos of Oxyrrhynchos, arrived later, and even the West was not absent. The very indicative fact that a Spanish bishop, Agrios Immontensis,[9] took part in it, reminds us of another Spanish bishop's participation in the First Ecumenical Synod, Hosios of Cordova, one of the five Western representatives to that synod. Obviously, Theodosios, of Spanish origin himself, invited among others his fellow countrymen, who accepted the invitation by Gratian. More important, of course, was the participation of Ascholios, Archbishop of Thessalonike, with other Macedonians. At that time their province ecclesiastically belonged to the West, and was also administratively under Gratian's jurisdiction for a period of a year, beginning with September 380. The participation of these two bishops mentioned by name, and of others not mentioned but implied by Saint Gregory's use of the plural, Macedonians,[10] gave this assembly of 150 bishops equivalent ecumenical character as the participation of only five persons from the West gave to the assembly of the 318 bishops in Nikaia, though at this time the head of the Roman Church was not directly represented, but indirectly through Ascholios. Saint Ambrose of Milan hints that Ascholios' participation was of decisive importance for the character of the synod.[11] The reason why these Macedonians were delayed, as were the Egyptians, will be indicated later.

The next point for the inherent ecumenicity of the synod is its own consciousness. As mentioned before, the *Acta* have been lost and we must limit ourselves to the declaration made by the Fathers of the Synod of 382. These Fathers, being as a whole the same as those of the synod of the year before, convened in Constantinople again in a kind of new phase of the same synod. In their synodical letter they called the synod of the year before "ecumenical," as I have said already. By using the first person plural they make clear that they were the ones who formed the ecumenical synod. They wrote to the Westerners: "On these subjects you may find more satisfaction, if you be so kind as to read the Tome prepared by the Synod of Antioch, as well as the Tome composed last year by the ecumenical synod, where *we have stated* the faith in more detail."[12]

The last point is the immediate acceptance of its decisions by the consciousness of the Church's *pleroma*. No church historian writing from Constantinople to Chalkedon has omitted to devote one or more particular chapters to it.[13] Besides that, the *Dialogues with the Macedonians*, ascribed to Athanasios, but according to general agreement written shortly after the synod, offers a more indicative witness. In a section of the conversation, the Macedonian accuses the Orthodox openly:

– As for you, have you not added to the faith of Nikaia?
– Yes, but not contrary to it.
– But, nevertheless, you have added.[14]

The Macedonian refers here clearly to the completion of the incomplete article on the Holy Spirit; and the Orthodox accepted his accusation. From this it follows that the creed was already officially used in the Church one or two years after the synod. To avoid mentioning all the scattered witnesses, I shall confine myself to only two of them that are of basic importance. The first comes from Theodore of Mopsuesia who devotes a large part of his *Catechesis* to the interpretation of the symbol of Constantinople.[15] The next testimony is much more important. In the Synod of Chalkedon (451), Bishop John of Herakleia declared that he not only baptized others, but also had been baptized himself on the basis of the symbol of Nikaia and Constantinople: "We have been baptized and we baptize in the faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nikaia, and of the one hundred and fifty Fathers of Constantinople, gathered in earlier times."[16]

So, if Bishop John had been baptized in the creed of this synod, this must have been introduced in the baptismal ceremony even before A.D. 400, not only in Constantinople, about which we have the testimony of Saint John Chrysostomos,[17] but also from far away in Syria. Given that its symbol was used everywhere in the East as baptismal, the synod must have been accepted as ecumenical there right from the beginning. Gradually, it was accepted also in the West.

The Displeasure of the West

The Westerners had serious reason to be uneasy with the convocation of this synod and displeased by its decisions. The latter constituted a confirmation of the theological and ecclesiastical policy of the Cappadocians, established some years earlier by Basil, and rejected by both the Westerners and the Alexandrians. In any case, we may remark here that the persistence of the Westerners in their reaction against the synod constitutes an additional element indicative of its ecumenicity.

Regarding the subject of concord, we observe that the decisions regulated the vital questions of canonicity in the sees of Antioch and Constantinople. In the first of these, Westerners and Egyptians recognized Bishop Paulinos, who had been ordained contrary to the canons by Lucifer of Kalaris (361), while the Cappadocians recognized Meletios. The synod not only adopted the Cappadocian line, but also made Meletios its president. In the capital, Westerners and Egyptians had established Maximos the Cynic as bishop, while the Easterners recognized Gregory, whom the synod solemnly accepted and made its second president. In other words, the leading persons whose canonicity the Westerners rejected were two, Meletios and Gregory, and the synod elevated both of them to the presidency. Certainly, this was a serious provocation against Rome.

On this point, it is worth mentioning a marginal but interesting result of that old displeasure of the West against Saint Gregory. He is constantly called Nazianzenos without any reason. As it is well-known, distinguished persons are surnamed in Latin with an adjective from the city of their origin, or if they are bishops, of their episcopal see. To give Gregory the surname Nazianzenos is unjustifiable and groundless, since he neither came from Nazianzos, nor served as bishop of that town. He came from Arianzos and became Bishop of Constantinople. His father, also named Gregory, was Bishop of Nazianzos for fifty years, and it is he who deserves to be named Nazianzenos, as, indeed, he is so recorded in ancient Eastern sources. The following question is very natural: Why did Westerners give Gregory a name which was not his? They gave him this name, because otherwise they would have had to call him Constantinopolitanus; a name which they never ascribed to him, because they never recognized his ascent to that see. It was the Cynic who was for them Bishop of Constantinople in those days. In the East there was no problem of a surname for him, since he was very early given the title "Theologos," which was an extremely honorable title during that time, and which many modern scholars have consistently ignored.

On the dogmatic question, the synod took three decisions. The most important of these was that it pronounced 'short definitions,' i.e., it composed and issued a symbol. Although this symbol, up to a point, follows that of Nikaia with its omissions and additions, it became the bearer of Cappadocian theology; thus it was accepted by the Church as the chief expression of orthodoxy. The creed had the good fortune to be accepted immediately by the churches of Constantinople and Antioch, as we have seen, and gradually by the rest, because it offered the final formation of the Trinitarian dogma. However, even on this point, the West later found a way to express its ancient displeasure by adding to it the famous 'filioque.'

The wording of the address to the emperor leads to the conclusion that the two other dogmatic decisions had been taken before the pronouncement of the symbol. The first of these refers to the sanction of the Symbol of Nikaia, the only point on which the Westerners could not raise any objection. The decision about it forms the first part of so-called Canon 1, while the next point forms its second part.

The disagreement of the Westerners on this last point of the dogmatic decision, referring to the condemnation of heretics, must have been at first strong. Indeed, the canon states: "And also we decided to anathematize every heresy, and especially: 1) that of the Eunomians, i.e., Eudoxians; 2) and that of the Semi-Arians, i.e., Pneumatomachians; 3) and that of the Sabellians, and that of the Marcellians, and that of the Photinians; 4) and that of the Apollinarians."

We note that the heretics condemned by this synod were not exactly those whom the Westerners would consider condemnable, but those whom Saint Basil in vain had insisted for years to be condemned. He had proposed to Rome to send representatives to the East in order to learn from personal observation about persons and conditions prevailing there, and to participate in an ecumenical synod. His proposal was passed over in silence. Finally, in 377 he deemed it necessary to write to them that it was not the Arians who were harming the unity of the Church, for their impiety was obvious to all and for this they had been separated from the body of the Church, but that the damage was being done by wolves who wore sheepskins and possessed a calm and mild appearance. The latter, meanwhile, mercilessly devoured the flock of Christ from within. It was they who, being placed on the borders of the Church, destroyed the peace within its bosom.[18]

In the sequel of this letter, Basil first mentions Eustathios of Sebastia, a disciple of Arios, who repeatedly wavered from one position to the other. When Eustathios traveled to the West as a representative of the semi-Arian convention in Lampsakos (366) along with Silouanos of Tarsos and Theophilos of Kastabala, he was recognized by Pope Liberius and supplied with letters which spoke of his supposed orthodox faith. He was now a leading authority of the Pneumatomachians. Second, Basil mentions Apollinarios, who through his rich literary activity had misled many people by luring them away from the teaching of the Church concerning the resurrection of the dead and the incarnation of the Son. A few years before, his disciple, Vitalis, after being ordained by him as the Bishop of Antioch, also went to the West and received recognition from Pope Damasos. Consequently, Apollinarios was also indirectly recognized. The third person mentioned is Paulinos, who besides the fact that his ordination by Lucifer of Kalaris was something reprehensible in itself, leaned toward the monarchian doctrine of Sabellios and Marcellos to the list. The decision of the synod had also included the Photinians, i.e., the followers of Photinos, Bishop of Sirmium in its anathema. Basil does not mention him at all, probably not only because, as a follower of Marcellos, he was meant to be included within his party in the suggestion for condemnation, but also because his doctrine was prevalent only in the West and was of little interest in the East.

As we noted, the leaders of all the heresies condemned by the synod; along with their offshoots, were indicated by Basil, except one, that of Anomians or Eunomians. They are not mentioned in his letter, but had long become the main target of his polemics. In the text of our synodikon, as preserved in the Acta of the Synod of Chakedon, there is mention made of the Arian heresy too. This citation is not included in the direct tradition of the text, Canon 1. Otherwise, it was already condemned in Nikaia and was again collectively condemned in the phrase "to anathematize every heresy" as an ancient heresy.

The time came also for the West to condemn these heresies.[19] Most scholars believed that this decision had been taken in 379 or early 380, as a concession to Basil's appeal, even if this occurred after his death. However, Theodoretos seems to believe that the condemnation took place later, in the Synod of Rome in 382. Today many scholars are inclined to accept such a view.[20] The fact that as late as the last days of 380 in Antioch both Paulinos and Apollinarios contended before the imperial envoy General Sapor that they belonged to the party of Damasos advocated this aspect. I, also, now believe that Pope Damasos yielded too late on this point and condemned these heresies only after their condemnation in Constantinople. He certainly wished to give the impression that the Roman Synod of 382, as a supreme authority, had sanctioned the decisions of Constantinople, while rejecting others.

Finally, as far as the decisions on the question of order were concerned, the Westerners and the Egyptians had every reason to be disappointed, for the Synod ordered: "We also decided that the Bishop of Constantinople has precedence after the Bishop of Rome, for this city is the New Rome."[21]

After the issue of this decision, Alexandria was to lose its second place in the order of precedence and Rome was to obtain a dangerous rival, since Constantinople with imperial assistance, could eventually supplant it, as the New Rome.

The Actual Sequence of Events

After the above review of the data, I think it has become possible to give a more accurate interpretation concerning the circumstances of the convocation and assembly of the synod, and to the reactions caused by its decisions.

Emperor Gratian was under the spiritual influence of Ambrose of Milan and Damasos of Rome. Obviously, Gratian transmitted his ecclesiastical preferences to his new co-emperor, Theodosios, to whom he delivered the administration of the East, including Eastern Illyricum. The decree of Theodosios on the Orthodox faith, issued in Thessalonike on 28 February 380, and addressed to the people of Constantinople,[22] reflected these dispositions, because it ordered all citizens to follow the faith in the unique divinity and the equal majesty of the Trinity, in the form acknowledged by Damasos of Rome and Peter of Alexandria. Therefore, it was not institutions but persons who were defined as rules of faith, Damasos for the West; Peter for the East. This was viewed as a offence against the orthodox leadership of the East and as a provocation. Theodosios quickly understood and corrected this error.

When in September 380 the two emperors met in Sirmium, they decided to convene an ecumenical synod to settle all ecclesiastical questions. It was then decided that the synod would meet in Aquileia in northern Italy. A part of the decree, resulting from that meeting, signed also by the three co-emperors, is preserved in the Acta of the Council of Aquileia (381). It ran: "Convenire in Aquilensium civitatem . . . episcopos jusseramus,"[23] in order to arrange the questions of faith. It was Ambrose, who afterwards prevented them from convoking a crowded council, because, as he said, "there is no profit in multitude if truth is not accepted by the majority." Consequently, he advised the emperors (probably only Gratian, since Theodosios had already left for the East and Valentinian was too young) not to submit the bishops to hardship as most of them were poor, old, and sick. A small group from Italy and neigboring provinces would be sufficient. All these were contained in that decree and read in Aquileia by the suggestion of Ambrose himself.[24] Then Gratian abandoned the design of convening an ecumenical synod, but obviously Theodosios was of a different mind.

Gregory the Theologian asserts that, even before Theodosios reached Constantinople, bishops were expected to arrive soon in the capital for a synod,[25] which means that already the agreement of Sirmium had been modified in that concern. Since all decisions of the three emperors were, up to that time as well as later on, unanimous and common, there is no reason to believe that in this particular case, i.e., the modification of the agreement, the decision was not commonly taken, but was made by Theodosios alone. In any case, Gratian never expressed any disagreement with the decisions of the Synod of Constantinople.

Theodosios, arriving in Constantinople on 24 November 380, came into contact with Gregory the Theologian and Meletios of Antioch. He was greatly impressed by the seriousness of their character, the wealth of their learning, and the firmness of their ecclesiastical policy. He had been taught by Meletios another aspect of supreme authority for the formulation of the Christian faith. So he learned and was persuaded about the function and the value of the synodical system. A change in his ecclesiastical policy brought about an alteration which is reflected in his decree against heresies, issued in January 381. The authority of Damasos and Peter was then passed over in silence, and the Synod of Nikaia was mentioned as the unique authority in the Church. Between Theodosios' two decrees there is a gap of mentality, and the second of them shows in what sense he was to send the invitations for the synod that same month.

The invitations were sent in two stages, of course, not by mistake. Many scholars try to interpret this fact in the sense that the measure was aimed at the Egyptian and Macedonian bishops who were expected to arrive late and find the decisions already made. The picture given by the actual testimonies of events allows me to present another interpretation.

Indeed, while an ecumenical synod was to be assembled imminently, two of the four main sees of the Universal Church had a disputed and double leadership. It was then necessary to solve the problem of canonicity beforehand. For this reason, the invitations of the bishops of the areas of Antioch and Constantinople were sent a little earlier. According to Gregory's verse, they were sent "to every eastern area excepting Egypt."[26]

Obviously, the Egyptians, as well as the Westerners, had no place in that phase of the synod which constituted merely a local synod of the two areas. Invitations to bishops of other districts were sent a little later, so that when the synod had confirmed the canonicity of Meletios and Gregory, immediately representatives of these districts came "suddenly invited." At that moment the other phase of the synod was to begin the ecumenical phase.

Invitations for the ecumenical phase were sent, in all probability, in the name also of Gratian and Valentianian, who never disagreed on the subject. The next year Gratian advised Ambrose to write to Theodosios against the synod. This means that Gratian was ready to adhere to the views of Ambrose, but did not dare to write personally to his co-emperor, because in so doing he would be acting against his own agreement. So, it is obvious that besides the Egyptians, invitations were sent at least to Damasos, Ambrose, Ascholios, Valerian of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Spain, and through them to all the Western bishops. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Agrios from Spain and Ascholios, along with other representatives of Macedonia, participated in the synod. It is also obvious that the leaders of the Western churches, understanding what spirit would prevail in the synod, and suspecting that this was also meant to sanction undesirable decisions in its preliminary phase, did not accept the invitation. And even those who accepted them, perhaps not without the understanding of Rome, represented the views of the West. According to Gregory's verse, Egyptians and Macedonians came, "blowing to us a Western rough wind."[27] But the fact that they came and participated in the synod shows in itself that they were invited for this end.

The Westerners reacted with intensity and persistence to the claim of the Easterners to present their synod as ecumenical. The first manifestation of their reaction was the convocation of the Synod of Aquileia in confirmation to a decision already forgotten and abandoned. They assembled in September 381, four months after that of Constantinople. Ambrose, the champion of the synod, submitted, as if in the name of the synod, one report to all co-emperors and three more reports to Theodosios alone, although sometimes he speaks in the singular person.

In the report to the three,[28] which must have been written at the beginning of the sessions, or even a little earlier, Ambrose expresses his uneasiness over the conditions in Antioch, its ecclesiastical question not being resolved (for the Easterners it had been settled already in Constantinople), and finally asks that a synod be assembled in Alexandria, with all orthodox catholic bishops participating in order to discuss the problem. In the first report to Theodosios,[29] Ambrose insists on supporting Maximos for the see of Constantinople who, incidentally, was present, and also Paulinos for Antioch. He expresses his sorrows over the fact that the Eastern bishops, instead of going to the West to participate in the Synod of Aquileia, assembled in Constantinople. Of course, he had forgotten it was he who wanted to prevent their arrival at that synod. He calls the small assembly of Aquileia, with only thirty-two bishops participating, an ecumenical synod, concilium generale, and considers that of Constantinople an unlawful gathering since its leaders had not appeared to be judged by Rome, Italy, and all the West before they participated in it. Obviously, Saint Ambrose in these matters had remained in his former rank of governor of Aemilia and Liguria. In any case, since the previous proposal was not answered at all, he proposed an ecumenical assembly in Rome. At the end of the letter, he says that he was encouraged to write to Theodosios by his "brother" co-emperor, Gratian. The second report to Theodosios has been lost, while the third does not add anything new.[30]

Another expression of the Western reaction was the convocation of the Synod of Rome in 382, which pretended to be ecumenical. Gratian, of course, was obliged, not only to tolerate, but even to convene that assembly. In his mind, this was a repetition of what had happened the year before. The synod was meant to correspond to that of Constantinople. The Western emperor issued a decree for an ecumenical synod in the capital of the West, Rome, just as the emperor of the East had done the year before in the capital of the East, Constantinople. The decree, in all probability, was issued by Gratian also in the name of Theodosios, as the decree of the year before should have been issued by the latter also in the name of Gratian. Here, too, the bishops of the East are invited to the synod of the West by the Western emperor, as in all certainty the bishops of the West had been invited to the synod of the East by the Eastern emperor.

However, the ecclesiastical leaders of the West meant it in different dimensions. Thy intended to present both the assemblies of 381 in Constantinople and Aquileia as local synods, while the new assembly in Rome would be a general, ecumenical assembly, and should sanction or reject the decisions of both.

The Easterners counteracted hastily with the backing of Theodosios for whom Ambrose was to maintain a lifelong aversion. They gathered again in Constantinople, and with their synodical letter addressed to the bishops of the West, declared that for various reasons, they could not participate in the synod, but indirectly suggested that this synod was not necessary, for already their synod of the year before was ecumenical, and its decisions needed no further sanction.[31]

What we have here is the repetition of another point. The Easterners refused to go to Rome, as in all certainty the Westerners had refused the year before to go to Constantinople, probably tacitly. However, some Westerners had participated in Constantinople, giving the synod an ecumenical character. It is also true that some Easterners went to Rome, like Paulinos of Antioch and Maximos of Constantinople, but these bishops were rejected and condemned by the East. So the Synod of Rome fell into a vacuum.

The situation approached the limits of a schism, which would have been the first general schism in the history of the Church. Finally, it was avoided because the West, after a while, accepted the synod, at first, tacitly and afterwards, officially. And so today we are in a position, both Easterners and Westerners, to celebrate the great synod's anniversary in the one and same Spirit.

NOTES

1. Ortiz de Urbina, *Nicée et Constantinople* (Paris, 1963) p. 139.
2. E. Schwartz, ACO 2.1.3, 96.
3. *Letters* 12 and 13.
4. *Ecclesiastical History* 5.10.
5. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.9.
6. *Letter* 263.5.
7. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.9.
8. *Mansi*, 3.557. Very interesting is the prayer, "Let God grant you, the emperor, to the Oikoumene."
9. *Mansi*, 3.572.
10. *Poems to Himself* 11.1800, "Egyptians and Macedons."
11. *Letter* 13.7.
12. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.9.
13. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.8 – Sozomenos, *Church History* 7.7-9.
14. PG 28.1204.
15. Cf. in Tonneau-Devreesse, *Les homelies catéchetiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, Studi Testi, 145 (1949) pp. 215, 235-39.
16. *Mansi*, 7.28.
17. *Homily on Corinthians* 40, PG 61.348.
18. *Letter* 263.2.
19. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.11.

20. On the time of Sapor's visit to Antioch, cf. A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein symbol* (Gottingen, 1965) p. 36.

21. Canon 3.

22. Cunctos Populos, *Cod. Theod.* 16.1, 9 – *Cod. Just.* 1.1, 1.

23. See Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs des Antiken Welt* 5, 144.

24. *Acta of Acquilleia, Mansi* 3.601.

25. *Poems to Himself* 11.1106f.

26. Ibid. 11.1509.

27. Ibid. 11.1802.

28. Ambrose, *Letter* 12.

29. *Letter* 13.

30. *Letter* 14.

31. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.9; cf. A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel*, p. 210ff.

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REVIEWS

The Fate of the Intellectual in Byzantium A Propos of *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium.* By Ihor Ševčenko. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981. Pp. 374.

Collected articles written by I. Ševčenko in 1949-78 (the earliest of them, Part 8, still in French) are dedicated to fourteenth-century Byzantium. Sometimes Š. touches on the fifteenth century (e.g., in Part 2 and in Part 14 he is dealing with the thirteenth-century writer Nikephoros Blemmydes; it is the latest of Š.'s works included in the collection, a harbinger of the author's forthcoming research). The chronological cadre is relatively limited, but the range of subject matter, on the contrary, is quite broad: Š. treats both Russo-Byzantine relations (Part 15, see also Part 12, pp. 447-50) and land tenure (Part 13), judicial organization (Part 8) and political plots (Part 9). Despite this large topical variety, all the articles are unified by the author's personality and by some specific features of investigatory technique. The remarkable knowledge and love of Byzantine manuscripts is particularly typical of Š.. He regards the manuscript not only as a treasure house of specific information, but also as a monument of intellectual activity. He examines the *Parisinus Gr. 1276* as a document that presents a blending of two early versions of Nicholas Kabasilas' *Discourse Concerning Illegal Acts of Officials* with changes, erasures, and additions by the author's own hand (Part 5, p. 181); he suggests that an entry in *Vaticanus Gr. 116,* described in the catalogue as "two short anonymous prefaces of the fifteenth century," is, in fact, one letter by Nikephoros Gregoras written in his own hand (Part 12, p. 435). Š. published a series of important texts: besides the above-mentioned Kabasilas' *Discourse* (Part 4, pp. 91-125) and Gregoras' letter (Part 12, p. 436 f.), we find here Alexios Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor* (Part 7, pp. 203-15); a fragment starting in the middle of a sentence (Part 5, pp. 196-98) which, according to S. (p. 199), may have been composed by Kabasilas; three letters of Manuel Moschopoulos (Part 9, pp. 136-44); the preface by a certain Alyates "to a praktikon" (Part 13, p. 70 f.); and the fragment that fills up a lacuna in the life of Saint John the Younger written by Theodore Metochites (Part 11, pp. 297-300), a lacuna which has made the text unintelligible.

The publishing of a text is not Š.'s final end. The text ought to be understood and placed in a proper historical context. A translation or a quite detailed summary is regarded to be indispensable (Part 10, p. 52);

and, indeed, Š.'s editions are complemented by translations. In rare cases, when a reliable publication was available, Š. presented a translation only (Part 8, pp. 248-51). Š. is well aware of the difficulties and obscurities presented by Byzantine authors; he demonstrates, for instance, how Kabasilas not only adhered to a stylistic doctrine favoring obscurity, but also how experience and knowledge he shared with his addressee permitted him to indulge in the large number of cryptic allusions and puzzles we can solve only by chance (Part 10, p. 49).—The pun on a name, when solved, can convey an important piece of information (p. 51 f.).

In order to interpret a Byzantine text correctly we have to place it in its proper historical context, "within the framework of known historical data" (p. 51). The first step on this way is the dating. Š. undertakes, for instance, a revision of Kabasilas' birth date (Part 10, pp.54-56) and comes to the conclusion that he was born some time about 1320. He suggests that Manuel Moschopoulos was arrested in the winter of 1306/07 (Part 9, pp. 145-47). But what does it mean to date an event? Byzantine letters and treatises studied by Š. have, as a rule, no external dating indications, and only the constellation of facts mentioned in the text can shed some light on the date. Byzantine authors were rather vague and indefinite in their hints and allusions, and the work of identification of events described is really painstaking.

The meaning of the text, then, must be elicited by bringing together scattered shreds of information and by linking them in a coherent chain. Thus, the *document insignifiant,* a letter of Leo Bardales, is used to reconstruct the history of a judicial scandal of 1337 and the subterfuges of one among the culprits to escape his condemnation (Part 8, p. 259). The case of Manuel Moschopoulos demonstrates how intricate the task of identification can be: Moschopoulos complains of being kept unlawfully in prison; even though he confesses his guilt, he asserts that he was not aware of the criminal character of the act committed by him. Two contemporary affairs are known of which Š. reminds us in connection with the case of Moschopoulos: the plot of John Drimys in the winter of 1305, and a conspiracy in which a certain Glykys was involved. "It would be tempting to associate Moschopoulos' arrest with the Drimys' plot," says Š. He also thinks that some expressions in Patriarch Athanasios' correspondence allow us to bring together two plots—those of Drimys and of Glykys (Part 9, p. 149 f.). Š. was very cautious in his confrontations. "Even if Glykys was not a 'Drimyte,' " he remarks, "it is noteworthy that he was a protégé of John IV Lascaris." Later on V. Laurent and A. M. Talbot have sharpened Š.'s suggestions, left aside his prudent remark, and identified both conspiracies—an identification that seems to me very questionable.[1]

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[1] A. P. Kazhdan, "Two Letters of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople," *Charanis Studies* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), pp. 79-81.

Since the evidence the Byzantinist is dealing with is so vague, the constant use of criticism in order to remove inherited fallacies, those 'idols of the theater,' is especially necessary. Š. is richly bestowed with the gift of criticism: his courageous refutation of the so-called *Toparcha Gothicus* as a nineteenth-century forgery[2] lies beyond the chronological framework and the topic of the book under review. His other 'revolutionary' concept, the reinterpretation of Kabasilas' *Discourse* (Parts 4-6), is essential for the study of Byzantine cultural and political history of the fourteenth century.

The *Discourse* was studied by O. Tafrali in 1913. Without editing the manuscript Tafrali launched an assertion that the text revealed the social program of the Zealots, the leading party of the revolution in Thessalonike in the 1340s. Many scholars coping with the Zealot revolt have used Kabasilas' words in Tafrali's interpretation: I for one employed this material to prove that the Zealots had carried out an agrarian reform by confiscating part of the estates of monasteries and secular lords.[3] Š. published the entire text using primarily the *Parisinus Gr. 1213* and, for a collation, *Coislinianus 315* and *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 262,* as well as a long fragment in *Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 681* (Part 4, p. 88). Eventually, he discovered another version of the *Discourse* (he called it the First Version) preserved anonymously in the *Parisinus Gr. 1276*; this manuscript seems to have been revised by Kabasilas himself within the last thirty years of the fourteenth century (Part 5, p. 187). As Š. prudently remarks, "It does not necessarily mean that this version was *composed* within that period."

After publishing the text and English summary, Š. was able to show that Tafrali, while referring to fifty excerpts from Kabasilas, had interpreted twenty-six of them erroneously (Part 4, p. 142). According to Š., vague accusations presented by Kabasilas manifest that his adversaries resorted to the sale of offices, secularized monastic property, practiced simony, appropriated the possessions of vacant bishoprics, and imposed heavy contributions on the faithful and on the monasteries. These revenues were used to equip soldiers, secure walls, and acquire ships and weapons. Š. asserts that "nothing in the text unambiguously points to the Thessalonican Zealots as Kabasilas' adversaries." (Part 4, p. 144). After a meticulous examination of the text and of the political situation in the forties, Š. concludes that Kabasilas acted as the mouthpiece of the monastic communities and that his tract, written about 1344, was directed against Alexios Apokaukos, against the loyalist government and the leaders of the official Church (Part 4, 169 f.). Later he admitted, however (Part 5, p. 188; see also Part 6, p. 406 f.), that the tract could have been written after the Battle of Maritza in 1371.

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[2] I. Ševčenko, "The Date and the Author of the So-Called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus," *DOP* 25 (1971) 115-88.

[3] A. P. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosenija v Vizantii XIII-XIV vv.*(Moscow, 1952), p. 190.

So we have no final decision concerning when the *Discourse* was written and to which events it was related: the evidence turns out to be very vague. But we know now that Kabasilas cannot be considered a source revealing the program of the Zealot revolt. This refutation of the *Discourse* as a fundamental source of our information about the Zealots does not imply, stresses Š. (Part 4, p. 171), that the Zealot movement is not a phenomenon of great importance. It is, however, worth noticing that in the article of 1953 Š. still defined the Zealot movement as a "revolution" (Part 3, p. 616 f.). Since his refutation of Tafrali's thesis, the term 'revolution' has disappeared from Š.'s vocabulary—the rendering "social revolt" (Part 4, p. 407; see also Part 1, p. 86) now becomes more appropriate.

While studying the Thessalonican revolt, Š. had, of necessity, to touch upon several economic and social institutions such as charistikion and pronoia. He affirms categorically that by the fourteenth century, the Byzantine charistikion was in abeyance (Part 4, p. 153); and he surmises that the pronoia, rather than the charistikion, was used by Kabasilas' adversaries on the appropriated monastic property (p. 159). This conclusion does not seem so clear and convincing to me as it does to the author. First of all, the charistikion (though the term is not to be found in late Byzantine documents) was not abolished. Thus, in 1317, a metropolitan of Attaleia complained that some clerics and lay persons within his diocese were granted monasteries and churches by previous prelates (ἀρχιερεῖς); they claimed that the goal of these grants was improvement of the status and support of donated institutions (MM 1:77.1-7). What is described here is an obvious grant of charistikion. Another case, a more complicated one, is essential for the study of the Zealot revolt since it is chronologically and geographically very close to the Thessalonican events. In 1348, when the Zealot movement was on the decline, the ecclesiastical court in Serres stated that the archontopouloi that recently had seized the peasants (ἐλεύθεροι προσκαθήμενοι) of the Monastery of Alypiou living in Ezova on the river Strymon now decided to return them to the monastery—in part, as it was put by the judges, because their consciences had been aroused, and in part because they were convinced by some aged eyewitnesses (*Actes de Kutlumus*, No. 21.1-5). We no longer know what the substance of the 'injustice' of the archontopouloi was; it would be no more than guesswork if we assumed that they had used the stituation in the neighboring Zealot 'republic' in order to seize monastic properties but returned them under the pressure of their 'consciences' when the Zealot revolt died down. Anyway, the archontopouloi of Serres managed to acquire or seize monastic peasants at the time of Kabasilas' tract without the sanction of the central government.

Š. regards the land seizures of Kabasilas' treatise as measures leading to the bestowals of pronoia grants. With G. Ostrogorsky, he understands the pronoia as a conditional grant of state land and of seignorial rent coming from the land (Part 13, p. 65). The pronoiai were grants, mostly of land, awarded, theoretically for life, to military nobility and, in principle, in exchange for the obligation of military service (Part 4, p. 157). I doubt whether this definition of the fourteenth-century pronoia is correct.

After the standard work by Ostrogorsky,[4] the idea that pronoia was a land grant for military service became an automatic assumption rather than a matter needing proof. This presumption leads to two distortions: first, the existence of nonmilitary pronoia, although admitted theoretically, is pushed into the background, if not completely ignored; secondly, all possessions of the military aristocracy are identified as pronoia, even when the term is not employed in a given source. It should be emphasized that the Church and the members of the senate, not only 'soldiers,' were holders of pronoia. Pachymeres testifies to that,[5] and Š. himself discusses Pachymeres' passage referring to monastic pronoiai (Part 4, p. 157); Kantakouzenos' foes offered a large pronoia to Sabbas, monk of Vatopedi, who refused the grant since he did not want to be rewarded by those who enjoyed bloodshed and murders (Kantak. 2:213.11-13). Even more eloquent is the inventory of Alexios Amnon, probably of the end of the thirteenth century: The official says that he was sent to the theme of Thessalonike in order to establish a list of "ecclesiastical and monastic proniai," as well as those of "persons," "soldiers," and other people (*Actes de Zographou,* No. 53.1-4, the date is that of Ostrogorsky). Many documents use the term *oikonomia* which was applied interchangeably with *pronoia* (e.g., *Actes de Chilandar,* No. 46.6 and 47.6). Thus, in 1321(?), the officials of the theme of Boleron and several others were ordered to find out "all the oikonomiai in the area" and to give them over to their holders (*Actes de Lavra 2,* No. 112.2); accordingly, a praktikon of a monastic metochion was prepared. Monastic oikonomiai are mentioned also in the *Actes d'Esphigménou* (No. 8.2-4, 14.3-5, 22.15-16).

Š. asserts that "soldier" was identical to the "pronoia holder" (Part 13, p. 68, n. 15), referring to an article by N. Oikonomidès,[6] who also did not prove this thesis, but only asserted it. Although we know, indeed, that many Byzantine soldiers possessed pronoiai, it does not mean that they possessed only this kind of property: the *stratiotes* Michael Petritzes, who sold a small choraphion to the monastery of Lembiotissa (MM 4:173.4), did not act, in this case, as a pronoiarios; neither did *stratiotes* Kadianos hold a pronoia—only a fishing boat (MM 4:247.6-10).

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[4] G. Ostrogorsky, *Pronija* (Beograd, 1951). French tr. *Pour l'histoire de la féodalit5e byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), pp. 92-179. See also I. Ševčenko, "An Important Contribution to the Social History of Late Byzantium," *Annals of the Ukranian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. II,* 4 (1952) 448-59.

[5] M. V. Bibikov, "Svedenija o pronii v pis'mach Grigorija Kiprskogo i 'Istorii' Georgija Pachimera," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 98. Cf. also objections by Ševčenko (as in no. 4 above), pp. 457-58 and E. Fisher in *Byz* 40 (1971), 233, discussed by Š. in the *Addenda* to the volume under review (Part 2, *ad* 4, p. 157).

[6] N. Oikonomidès, "Contribution à l'étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle," *REB* 22 (a misprint in Š. Part 13, 66, nos. 5-27) (1964) 173.

Kabasilas did not use the term 'pronoia,' he only cited the words of his adversaries whose intention was to confiscate a portion of monastic lands in order to equip soldiers (Part 4, p. 93, par. 6.20-1). Neither is the term mentioned in the preface to a praktikon of Alyates, interpreted by Š. as referring to the pronoia. "The apographeus," so S. (Part 13, p. 69), "is about to draw up a praktikon for a soldier [...], that is, a pronoia holder." This preface seems to Š. especially important, for he finds there an allusion to the retinue of the pronoia holder (p. 70). Let us, however, check to see what the preface of Alyates is all about.

Alyates begins with a trivial cliché that unity is invincible. This catch phrase is illustrated first by a series of examples drawn from the social sphere (people of the same stock, love, brotherhood, and the army outfitted with the true faith and supported by the ruler), and secondly from the realm of inanimate things (the wall built of smaller stones, the rope woven from single threads). Accordingly, the military expedition (στρατεία; Š. 'army') will be successful (lit. 'prevail'; Š. 'will be strengthened'), and the soldier will be well-trained (Pass. συγκροτηθῇ; Š. 'will improve, embolden, and increase [the army]'), being commanded (συστρατηγούμενος, Pass. rather than Med., as Š. interpreted: 'commanding with others [?]'; the question mark is Š.'s) together with a multitude of the same stock (Part 13, pp. 70-72). In my translation, 'stratiotes' is not a knight commanding a large body of men, but a rank-and-file soldier; this interpretation is strengthened not only by the grammar (the use of the passive), but also by a direct contrast between the stratiotes and the stratarches—the latter is a general and the former a soldier. This stratarches is, in all probability, the same person as the τοῦ παντὸς κατεξουσιάζων (Š. 'the ruler of the state') for the text uses only one definite article, that before 'stratarches' (and not two, as should have occurred to make Š.'s translation acceptable). This commanding general, according to Alyates, will have confidence in the stratiotes because the retinue is numerous. The retinue is the general's: I understand αὐτόν as referring to the stratarches and not to the knight, as Š. did.

In my view, Alyates' preface does not deal at all with the pronoia system; moreover, it does not deal with any kind of land or vassalage relationship. It proclaims the importance of unity and illustrates this importance by various images, including those related to the army. Do these military images conveyed by the preface imply that the praktikon was of necessity dealing with a secular land grant?

The chrysobul of 1302 issued by Andronikos II begins with the following words: "If a stratiotes equipped with arms demonstrates his courage in the battle against the foe, his deeds and brilliant victories will bring him both glory and the emperor's favor" (*Actes de Lavre,* No. 94.1-2). Had only these lines of the preface survived, we would have suggested that Andronikos II's charter was addressed to a lay lord and perhaps to a pronoia holder. But this is not the case: the endowment concerned a monk, Alexios Metaxopoulos by name, who was granted the right to possess *ad vitam* the monastery in Linobrocheion, which after Athanasios' death was to be given over to the Lavra. Military images by themselves are not yet sufficient proof of the military and secular character of the grant described. Since we have only the preface to the praktikon of Alyates, any suggestion about its content must remain strongly hypothetical.

It is not the history of social institutions, but that of intellectuals, that forms the actual core of the book. The history of Byzantine intellectuals was neglected until recently: emperors and monks, landlords and peasants have been considered the leading figures of Byzantine reality with their clashes determining the fate of the empire; as to intellectuals, they have been severely rebuked for their fawning attitude towards the powerful, as well as their slavish dependence on ancient models. Š. is among the few scholars who are now shaking loose from the traditional view. New publications by themselves, new datings or identifications, however convincing they might be, cannot by themselves alter the traditional pattern—what we need is a courageous outlook, and Š. provides it.

The brief article on Kabasilas' correspondence is particularly important since Š. has revealed there a kind of manifesto. Two points are emphasized: contrary to appearances, says Š. first (Part 10, p. 50), the disinterested pursuit of abstract knowledge was a rare thing in fourteenth-century Byzantium; he expresses the same idea even more precisely in the preface (p.i.): "Ideas do not float in the air." Byzantine intellectuals were children of their time and their society and were involved in burning issues, even though their language sounds rather abstract. This idea reminds us of Š.'s book on Metochites[7] where he showed how the erudition of Metochites and Choumnos was anchored in the reality of the day and how their scientific polemics reflected their practical concerns. Secondly, he emphasizes that the works of Byzantine writers should be treated as literary creations (Part 10, p. 52)—a dramatic reaction against the usual disdain of 'detestable' Byzantine literature. The second task is still ahead of us, and in the collected articles this topic did not find an emphasis which it deserves. Š. approached this problem more directly in his paper on levels of style presented to the Sixteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies,[8] but even there style is understood as grammar rather than the totality of literary means for the author's expression of his self and his time. On the other hand, the examination of the social status and social views of Byzantine intellectuals as presented in the book is, to my knowledge, the most profound and brilliant survey of the problem. It is very significant that Š.'s analysis is based not on random and isolated cases, but primarily on a statistical elaboration of a large sample (Part 1, pp. 69-76).

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[7] I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), pp. 145-66.

[8] I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 289-312.

According to Š., about fifty-five percent of Byzantine literati of the fourteenth century can be assigned to the ecclesiastical sphere; more than a half of those were monks. Several writers were of imperial rank,[9] and most of the lay intellectuals gravitated around some court, primarily that of Constantinople. Two thirds of them resided in the capital. They were officials, friends or confidants of emperors. Although a large group of writers is attested as coming from noble or well-to-do backgrounds, landowning literati were surprisingly few in number.[10] Only a few were professional men (doctors, lawyers, and so on), whereas the proportion of teachers seems to have been relatively high. Only for four or five writers could Š. postulate a humble family origin, and an even smaller number, a low-class station. This fundamental statement refutes S.'s former opinion: before embarking on his statistical calculations, he wrote about "a large group of poor or impoverished intellectuals" (Part 7, p. 187), about "a cohort of impoverished and begging Byzantine intellectuals" (Part 10, p. 49, n. 1). In 1964, he still characterized Gregoras as "a mendicant scribbler addressing a powerful and rich man" (Part 12, p. 442), whereas in 1971, he claimed that under no circumstances did Gregoras belong to a low social group (Part 1, p. 75).

The imperial court continuing to be the center of Byzantine intellectual life, the impact of court ethics on literati was extremely strong. On the one hand, it created in them a sense of instability, of envy, of intrigue and fears of utter ruin (Part 1, p. 84); while on the other hand, the voices of social protest remained feeble. Although some writers were aware of social tensions, of social injustice, and of the plight of the poor—especially Alexios Makrembolites,[11]—they never dreamed of a social upheaval (Part 1, p. 85 f.); articulate revolutionary thinking did not exist in Byzantium (Part 7, p. 202). Š. acknowledges, however, not only the activity of "the outstanding religious dissenters" (Part 1, p. 86), but also the appearance of the notion of the empire's political, moral, and cultural decay (Part 2, p. 173 f.) A great discovery was made by the literati of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: barbarian neighbors, both Latins and Turks, turned out to be superior to the chosen people who were supposed to have inherited the glory and civilization of Ancient Greece and Rome (Part 2, pp. 176-81; see also Part 7, p. 196).[12] How could this notion of the empire's decay arise within the framework of a literature that remained predominantly connected with the court? Š. very ingeniously proposes significant shifts in the sources of support for literary activity: with the waning of imperial prestige from the second half of the fourteenth century onward, artistic patronage was delegated to the powerful feudal families and the Church (Part 1, p. 81).

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[9] Š. speaks of "three authors of imperial rank" on p. 74 and of "five writers of imperial station" on p. 73, n. 12a.

[10] I tried to demonstrate that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Byzantine literati belonged to the strata of civil officials rather than to the military and landowning aristocracy (though certainly with many exceptions)—A. P. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), p. 205 f.

[11] On Makrembolites, see most recently Lj. Maksimović, " 'Bogataši' Aleksija Makremvolita," *ZRVI* 20 (1981) 99-109.

Š.'s pioneering approach to the social function of the late Byzantine intelligentsia is anchored in his tremendous knowledge of their individual biographies, of the political views and literary oeuvre of manifold writers. His meticulous investigations on Metochites and Choumnos, on Kabasilas, Makrembolites, Moschopoulos, and Gregoras provided the bricks necessary for the overall building. In all, there were at least ninety-one intellectuals whose 'works and days' were used by Š. for his conclusions. "This sample," says Š. (Part 1, p. 71), "seems fairly complete"; and his calculations concerning the social structure of the Byzantine intellectual elite depend on this presumption. Let us, therefore, first of all check whether this sample is actually "fairly complete."

Š. admits that the chronological limits of his sample (see the list—Part 1, p. 69 f., n. 2) are arbitrary: some writers included in his list worked in the fifteenth, not in the fourteenth, century. The problem of geographical framework is not discussed specifically. Š. speaks of literati from Cyprus and Trebizond (p. 70, 73, 75) even though these areas were already lost to Byzantium. Crete, however, is not mentioned, and it remains unclear whether this silence was unintentional or whether Crete is conceived as a country outside the cadre of Greek culture. Since I do not see any major difference between the situation in Cyprus and that of Crete, I am willing to include Cretan intellectuals in any additional list, although, strictly speaking, neither Crete nor Cyprus were at this time Byzantine territories.

Here follows an additional list of persons who left their trace—some greater, some smaller—in Byzantine literature of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Some of them were as yet unknown at the time of Š.'s paper, some perhaps seemed too shadowy to Š. to be considered as 'real' literati. The relative level of their production, however, is too arbitrary a feature to serve as a mark of distinction in the setting up of a statistical sample. Like Š., I also left aside musicians, such as John Koukouzeles or Michael Blemmydes, although they have the right to be listed among intellectuals.

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[12] See also S.J.G. Turner, "Pages from Late Byzantine Philosophy of History," *BZ* 57 (1964) 346-73.

1. Alexios Lampenos, author of six monodies published by S. Lampros in *NE* 11 (1914), 359-400, a man of the circle of the Despot John Palaiologos (1286-1307).

2. Andrew Lopadiotes, pupil of Manuel Moschopoulos, author of the *Lexicon Vindobonense*. On him cf. A. Guida in *Prometheus* 5 (1979) 1-20.

3. Anthimios, Metropolitan of Crete (ca. 1366), theologian. See H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 743.

4. Antonios, Bishop of Larissa (ca. 1340-64). On him cf. N. Bees in *BNJb* 12 (1935-36), 300-19.

5. Arsenios of Pergamon (ca. 1295-1316), ecclesiastical writer with some interest in arithmetics. On him cf. V. Laurent in *REB* 15 (1957) 125-30.

6. Arsenios of Studios, polemicist who wrote against Palamas as well as the Latins. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 722.

7. Athanasios of Meteora (1305-83), born in Neopatras near Lamia, an official in Thessalonike before assuming monastic habit; author of a typikon. On him cf. D.M. Nicol, *Meteora* (London, 1975), pp. 88-105.

8. Basil (the first half of the fourteenth century), author of *stichoi* on Patriarch Athanasios. See Beck, *Kirche, p.* 707.

9. Kallistos Angelikoudes Melenikiotes, hesychast at the end of the fourteenth century. On him cf. S. Papadopoulos, Καλλίστου 'Αγγελικούδου κατὰ Θωμᾶ 'Ακινάτου (Athens, 1970).

10. Constantine Amanteianos, author of six epigrams, including an epitaph on the grand domestic Demetrios Kassandrenos (d. about 1361). On him cf. D. Bassi in *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica,* 26 (1898) 385-98.

11. Gabriel of Thessalonike (1397-1416/9), son of a priest from Thessalonike, from 1384 on abbot of the Nea Mone in Thessalonike. On him cf. V. Laurent in 'Ελληνικά 13 (1954) 242-55.

12. Gabriel, Metropolitan of Philadelphia (ca. 1341-64), writer. See *PLP* 2 (1977) No. 3415.

13. George, Archbishop of Bulgaria, author of a canon on the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, a friend of Metochites. See now I. Ševčenko, J. Featherstone, "Two Poems by Theodore Metochites," *GOTR* 26 (1981) 8-12.

14. George Galesiotes (1275/80-1357), pupil of Manuel Holobolos, high ranking official of the Patriarchate, author of speeches and other works. On him cf. St. I. Kourouses, in 'Αθηνᾶ 75 (1974-75) 335-74 and Ševčenko in *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 311.

15. George Oinaiotes, author of a paraphrase of Blemmydes' *Imperial Statue,* perhaps identical with the author of the so-called Florentine collection of letters. On him cf. G.H. Karlsson, G. Faturos in *JÖB* 22 (1973), 207-18, and Ševčenko in JÖB 31/1 (1981) 311 f.

16. George Phakrases, protostrator (ca. 1355), Palamas' supporter. On him cf. M. Candal in *OChP* 16 (1950) 303-57.

17. Gerasimos, a monk born in Euboia or in Athens, died before 1326, teacher in the theme of Hellas. See *PLP* 2, No. 3756. Beck, *Kirche,* 707 also mentions Gerasimos, whose canon on Saint George is preserved in some manuscripts of the fourteenth century. The evidence for literary activity of a certain Gerasimos of Cyprus is questionable (Beck, *Kirche,* p. 722).

18. Gregory, a monk, Palamas' contemporary, author of the *Life* of Saint Romylos, which survives only in a Serbian version. On him cf. I. Dujčev in *BS* 7 (1937-38) 120-24.

19. Ignatios, hieromonk, author of an *akolouthia* on Patriarch Athanasios. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 707.

20. Ignatios II of Antioch (ca. 1344-47), anti-Palamite. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 730.

21. Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, founder of the convent of the Savior Philanthropos. On her correspondence with Ignatios Hesychast (?), V. Laurent in *REB* 14 (1956) 48-86. This correspondence will be soon published by Dr. Angela Hero.

22. Isaak, monk, author of textbook on metrics. See H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), 2, p. 51.

23. Joasaph, Protosynkellos in Constantinople, later Metropolitan of Ephesos (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), author of liturgical and canonical responsa. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 788.

24. Jacob of Serres (d. ca. 1360), author of a canon. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 796.

25. John Kyparissiotes, perhaps from Kyparissia in the Peloponnese, anti-Palamite; he left for Rome where in ca. 1376 he got a pension from the pope. On him cf. A. Mercati in *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 496-501.

26. John Gabras, anti-Palamite (ca. 1343). See Beck, *Kirche,* 721 f. S. mentions him (Part 10, p. 52) as the object of Palamas' pun, but does not include him in the sample.

27. Another John Gabras, brother of Michael (No. 40). See *PLP* 2, No. 3362.

28. Joseph Philagrios, philosopher and theologian, founder of a monastery in Crete, adversary of Demetrios Kydones. See Hunger,

Literatur, 1:39.

29. Leonardo della Porta, a Venetian born in Crete who accepted both the Orthodox creed and Greek culture. Ca. 1385 a lawyer in Chandax. His poems in Greek were composed from prison at the beginning of the fifteenth century. On him cf. M.J. Manoussakas in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento* (Florence, 1966), pp. 283-307.

30. Logaras (first name unknown), 'memorialist,' author of a letter to Andronikos III. On him cf. S. K. Lampakes in *EEBS* 42 (1975/76) 397-407.

31. Makarios of Ankyra (1397-1405), author of a treatise on episcopal consecration. On him cf. V. Laurent in *OChP* 13 (1947) 551-61.

32. Makarios, hieromonk, canonist; his *Syntagma,* heavily dependent on Blastares, has been preserved in manuscripts from the fifteenth century on. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 787.

33. Makarios, Patriarch of Constantinople (1376-79, 1390-91), author of a prayer on the birth of the Virgin. See Beck, *Kirche,* p. 775 f.

34. Makarios Paradeissas, author of a letter to Makarios Chrysokephalos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia (1336-82). He was born in Mitylene, belonged to the circle of Chrysokephalos, and for a time dwelt with the latter in the capital. On him cf. R. Walther in *JÖB* 23 (1974) 215-23.

35. Manuel Gabalas, Metropolitan of Ephesos (1329-51), born in Philadelphia. On him cf. S.I. Kourouses, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἶτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (Athens, 1972). Š. refers to him as Matthew of Ephesos.

36. Manuel Raul/Rales (ca. 1355-69), author of letters to John Kantakouzenos and other eminent persons. Born probably at Mistra, he acted as γραμματεύς in Thessalonike and eventually in the Peloponnese. On him cf. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral[l]es* (Athens, 1973), p. 51 f.

37. Mark Kyrtos, a monk, author of a letter to Patriarch John Kalekas. Mentioned by Š. (Part 1, p. 72), but not included in the list. Is he not identical with the monk Mark who wrote a letter to Andronikos III (Beck, *Kirche*, p. 722)? Both letters were concerned with the heresy of Akindynos.

38. Matthew, Exarch of Chazaria (ca. 1395), author of a poetical dialogue in praise of Theodosia (Caffa). On him cf. S. G. Mercati, *Collectanea byzantina* 1 (Bari, 1970) 385-98.

39. Matthew Kantakouzenos (ca. 1325-91), emperor. On his literary activity cf. D. M. Nicol, *the Byzantine Family of Kantakuzenos (Cantacuzenus)* (Washington D.C., 1968), p. 120. Š. (Part 1, p. 73, n. 12a) mentions him without including him in the sample.

40. Michael Gabras (ca. 1290-1350), brother of No. 26, official in Constantinople, author of letters to Andronikos II and others. On him cf. G. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, 1 (Vienna, 1973) 20-24.

41. Michael Panaretos, historian of Trebizond, born ca. 1320. On him cf. Hunger, *Literatur* 1:480 f.

42. Michael Philes, author of an encomion on a tomb. See Beck, *Kirche*, p. 707.

43. Neilos Damilas/Damylas, theologian, founder of a convent in Baioneia, Crete (1397). On him cf. F. von Lilienfeld in *Byzantinische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1964), p. 359-72.

44. Neilos Erychtiotes, founder of the Geromerion Monastery. Beck, *Kirche*, 785 dates his typikon to the second half of the fourteenth century.

45. Neophytos Kerameus, hagiographer at the end of the fourteenth century. See Beck, *Kirche*, p. 795.

46. Neophytos Prodromenos, author of several 'scientific' works. See Hunger, *Literatur*, 2:272 f. Š. mentions him (Part 1, p. 74), but does not include him in the list.

47. Nicholas of Athens, hymnographer. See Beck, *Kirche*, p. 707.

48. Nicholas Lampenos, protonotarios, brother of No. 1, author of an encomion on Andronikos II. He was born in Thessalonike. On him cf. P.L.M. Leone in *Byz* 43 (1973) 347-50.

49. Nicholas Pepagomenos, a correspondent of Palamas and Gregoras, probably the author of the eulogy of the martyr Isidore. On him cf. P.L.M. Leone in *Byz* 42 (1972) 524-28.

50. Nicholas Rhabdas, mathematician. See Hunger, *Literatur*, 2, 247.

51. Niphon of Athos, hagiographer at the end of the fourteenth century, author of the *Life* of Maximos Kausokalybes published by E. Kourilas and F. Halkin in *AB* 54 (1936) 42-65.

52. Prochoros, Metropolitan and Proedros of Crete (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), author of canonical responsa. See Beck, *Kirche*, p. 789.

53. Simon/Symeon Atoumanos, Archbishop of Thebes (1366-83), author of a poem on John Kantakouzenos and of philological studies. Born in Constantinople. On him cf. G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe* (Brescia, 1968).

54. Sophianos, author of a letter to Makarios of Philadelphia (ca. 1345-51). On him cf. R. Walther in *JÖB* 22 (1973) 221 f.

55. Staphidakes, author of a monody on the death of Michael IX (?) published by A. Meschini, *La monodia di Stafidakis* (Padua, 1974).

56. Stephen Sachlikes, lawyer in Chandax, is now to be dated in the fourteenth century, according to M.J. Manoussakas and A.F. van

Gemert in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ΄ διεθνοῦς κρητολογικοῦ συνεδρίου (Athens, 1981), 2, 215-31.

57. Theodore Potamios, author of a monody on the death of John V, as well as of letters to Kydones and others. On him cf. S. Lampros in Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καί Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2 (1885), 48-62.

58. Theognostos, a monk, probably Kabasilas' contemporary, author of a treatise, "On Practice and Theory." See Beck, *Kirche*, p. 783.

59. Theophanes, abbot of Vatopedi, author of the second version of the *Life* of Maximos Kausokalybes (see No. 51). He was later metropolitan of Peritheorion and wrote speeches against the Latins. See Beck, *Kirche*, p. 794.

Thus, besides Š.'s sample of ninety-one persons, we now have a supplementary list of fifty-nine more writers—still without any assurance of being exhaustive. The question to be raised now is whether this additional list changes Š.'s conclusions.

In the supplementary list we again do not encounter people who could be assigned to the lower social strata. Quite the contrary: among them there appear several aristocrats: an emperor (No. 39), a protostrator (No. 16), several officials (No. 7, 30, 40, 48), and at least fifteen members of the high ecclesiastical hierarchy. The number of monks, fourteen, is also the same proportionately in Š.'s sample—about a quarter of the total number. However, the proportion of laymen turns out to be smaller: only fourteen persons can be considered laymen, that is, 24 percent as against 45 percent in Š. Among them are fewer teachers (No. 17, 36), but more lawyers (No. 29, 56) and canonists (No. 23, 31, 32).

The most striking difference between the two lists concerns the geographical distribution. According to Š., two thirds of the intellectuals dwelt in Constantinople, while the supplementary list happens to be much more 'provincial': at least nine among the persons included in it were born in the provinces; twenty-two or even twenty-four resided in the provinces, visiting the capital only occasionally; six on Crete (No. 3, 28, 29, 43, 52, 56); three or five in Thessalonike (Nos. 7, 11, 36 and probably Nos. 1 and 48), one in Serres (No. 24), two in Thessalia, in the Meteora (No. 7) and Larissa (No. 4); one in Hellas (No. 17); one specifically in Thebes (No. 53); two in the Peloponnese (No. 25, 36). Five are registered in towns of Asia Minor: Pergamon (No. 5), Philadelphia (No. 12, 34), and Ephesos (No. 23, 35). We find also one in Trebizond (No. 41), one in Bulgaria, at least temporarily (No. 13), and one in Chazaria (No. 38). No. 44 resided in the provinces as well. By contrast, only seven or ten literati were permanent dwellers of the capital, or only 16 percent.

These data, however, support, rather than contradict, one of Š.'s basic observations: the waning of imperial prestige and the shift of artistic

patronage from the Constantinopolitan court to the Church and powerful feudal families. Even among the few lay writers on the supplementary list we encounter intellectuals who in all probability used their pens in the service of the Despot John Palaiologos (No. 1) or the grand domestic Demetrios Kassandrenos (No. 10). Two or three (No. 8, 19, 37) seem to have belonged to the Patriarch's circle, not to mention a long series of bishops and high ecclesiastical officials. Only three intellectuals (No. 48, 55, 57) dedicated their works to emperors, and one to an ex-emperor (No. 53); true, some of them wrote letters to emperors (No. 30, 37, 40). Finally, if we bear in mind that some anonymous works of the period, such as the *Chronicle of the Tocco* or the *Chronicle of the Morea*, were obviously the products of lesser courts, we shall see that Š.'s pioneering statistical approach to the investigation of the social background of intellectual life in late Byzantium has really withstood the test of time.

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Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century. By John Meyendorff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Pp. xxi + 326. $69.95.

Father Meyendorff is one among an increasing number of scholars who acknowledges the role of Byzantium in shaping the history of Russia. Drawing from two earlier articles, "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century: Religious Problems" [1] and "Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352-1354)," [2] M., in his latest work, examines Byzantium's political, cultural, and spiritual contribution toward the Russian principalities and details its role in the emergence of Moscow as a leader in the northern periphery of the 'Byzantine Orthodox Commonwealth.'

Fourteenth-century Russia provides the case study for maintaining that Constantinople exercised "the role of a universal centre, parallel to that of Rome in the Latin West" (p. 3). The continuous spiritual and intellectual activities of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate is the key for understanding how Russia historically and ideologically was integrated within the Byzantine Commonwealth. The influence of the Mongols, Genoese-Venetian mercantile interests, Lithuanian and Polish religious and political expansionist policies, and the nationalistic aspirations of Kiev, Novgorod, Moscow, and other Russian principalities are factors

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[1] *XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Rapports 1. Bucharest 6-12 September 1971; reprint in John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems: Collected Studies* (London, 1974), pp. 51-65.

[2] *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967); reprint in Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm*, pp. 278-88.

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DANIEL J. SAHAS

THE FORMATION OF LATER ISLAMIC DOCTRINES AS A RESPONSE TO BYZANTINE POLEMICS: THE MIRACLES OF MUHAMMAD

Sir William Muir in his celebrated work *The Life of Mohammed. From Original Sources*[1] has stated that "We do not find a single ceremony or doctrine of Islam in the smallest degree moulded, or even tinged, by the peculiar tenets of Christianity." This conclusion, so emphatically stated, has emphatically been repeated by other prominent orientalists of the past, like Charles C. Torrey who has quoted Muir, although, in this instance, with the qualification that such a conclusion is to be limited to Muhammad and the Qur'ān.[2]

To refute this thesis would amount to an extensive research and writing. But I would say that this thesis can be refuted rather easily. As a matter of fact it must be refuted, not in order to question the autonomy and self-understanding of early Islam, but rather for the sake of understanding the earliest Islam and strengthening a more sophisticated Muslim-Christian dialogue today. Western orientalists, although much better informed now and appreciative of the Eastern Orthodox tradition, are still short of a personal sensitivity of the ethos and the inner dynamic of Eastern Christianity which the Western sages of the early twentieth century demonstrated as lacking in their study of Islam. I have a strong personal feeling collaborated by an abundance of evidence, that Islam has much more deeply rooted affinities with Eastern Christianity, and especially with forms and ideals of monasticism, Orthodox and non-Orthodox, than with Judaism and Christianity in general; but this is a life-long enterprise to even touch upon in a short paper. I have, even further, the suspicion that later Islamic doctrine, piety and practice was shaped to some considerable extent by the kind of Christian challenge and polemics – particularly those coming from certain Byzantine polemicists. The case has already been eloquently made by Alfred Guillaume,[3] but the possible sources have hardly been traced and explained; something to which this paper wants to contribute. It can be stated with a considerable certainty that the Muslim-Christian encounter during the Umayyad period (661-750), concentrated mainly on the previous eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire (particularly Syria), sharpened the appetite of the Muslims to seek a *theological* self-understanding and definition of Islam. The broad tolerance of the Umayyads promoted an even broader exchange between Islam and Christianity. On the other hand the Muslim-Christian polemics during the Abbasid period (750-early tenth century), concentrated mainly on the territory of the former Persian Empire, agitated the Muslims to compete with Christianity in the field of piety and spirituality. But I cannot prove this point without risking becoming overly lengthy and unacceptably general in statements and examples. I will, therefore, choose to deal with one aspect of the Islamic tradition, that of the Muhammad of faith, and more particularly his miracles,[4] referring to a few selective Byzantine writers of the early Abbasid period, the period of the development of the Hadith.

Islam, on the basis of the Qur'ān (and it has to be reminded here that the Qur'ān is believed to be the actual word of God), ascribes to prophets a central role in God's revelation; they are the means of God's communication to mankind. What is of paramount importance to Islam is that these prophets or apostles (*nabī* or *rasūl*) are human beings. It is only secondary that God has supplemented their mission with "signs," in order to make their message believable to doubting men. I will restrict the examples briefly to those prophets, namely Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad, to whom the Qur'ān ascribes the highest role of transmitting the will of God in writing, thus becoming the vehicles for the word of God to reach the earth.

The Qur'ān ascribes miracles to Moses. (Surah 7:160.[5]) These miracles, however, are not manifestations of the powers of Moses but miracles of God. The smiting of the rock was ordered by God, although enacted by Moses. Other "miracles of Moses" mentioned elsewhere in the Qur'ān are also acts of God, such as the crossing of the Red Sea and the destruction of the Egyptians (10:91), or the "tokens" or "revelations unto Pharoah and his chiefs" (43:46-47). The Qur'ān does not allow the prophets to be autonomous agents of supernatural signs. They are not in themselves sources of creation, and consequently they cannot have control over it; they are themselves mortals. It is God who acts through the prophets.[6] The same principle applies to Jesus. He is also an agent of God's actions. When Jesus fashions the likeness of a bird and "he breathes into it and it is a bird," or when "he heals him who was born blind, and the leper," or when "he raises the dead," he does so "by Allah's leave" (3:49), or by Allah's "permission" (5:110).

Much more definite is the language of the Qur'ān when it refers to Muhammad. The Qur'ān alludes very strongly to the vigorous challenge of, and opposition to, Muhammad's claim of prophethood. The relevant passages provide us with information regarding the expectations of his Quraish tribesmen and of the evolving Muslim understanding of prophethood.[7] A prophet must be able to show *proofs* of his claim, in terms of supernatural deeds. A messenger of God is expected to be something different than other human beings; perhaps an angel who does not eat nor does he walk in the market (25:7), or, at least, someone who is accompanied by an angel (6:8); someone who possesses a material treasure from heaven, or who eats from a paradisal table (25:7). Muhammad rejects this notion of a prophet and affirms that a prophet is neither an angel, nor does he have an angel dwelling in him. He is only a man, who speaks to men (Cf. 6:8-9). Muhammad is ordered by God to speak with no pretention and with no authority of his own. He emphatically states that he, himself, has no "knowledge of the unseen" (7:188), nor is he an angel (6:50). In the Qur'ān the Quraish appear to be desperate for "signs" (2:118; 3:183): "if only a portent were sent down upon him from his Lord!" (10:21; 6:37; 13:27). In the demand for a "portent" God confirms to Muhammad that he is not getting any; "Thou art a warner only, and for every folk a guide" (13:7).

There is only one single reference in the Qur'ān (6:35) which gives the impression that Muhammad could, somewhat, be able to bring a portent and convince his opponents:

> And if their aversion is grievous unto thee, then if thou canst, seek a way down into the earth or a ladder unto the sky that thou mayst bring unto

> them a portent (to convince them all)! – If Allah willed, He could have brought them all together to the guidance – So be not thou among the foolish ones.

But such a miracle is stated as a most improbable and hypothetical one. As a matter of fact the proposition is dismissed outright as foolish. Elsewhere in the Qur'ān Muhammad is praised for not having fallen into the temptation of even attempting to give his opponents what they demanded of him: "And if We had not made thee wholly firm thou mightest almost inclined unto them a little."[8] Thus, on the basis of the Qur'ān, there seems to be in the minds of those contemporary to Muhammad – from whom the earliest Muslims were drawn – a rather well-defined notion of what is a prophet. This notion suggested a set of pre-requisites and qualifications, including the ability of the prophet to show supernatural deeds; to to be different in nature, possibly a supernatural being, or to be accompanied by an angel; to possess material treasures from heaven; to eat from a paradisal table (that is to have some divine association), to have portents accompanying him and his message. Sūrah 17:89-93 summarizes the pagan expectations from a prophet with some specific examples of "signs": to cause a spring to gush from the earth; rivers to gush in a garden; heaven to fall upon men; to ascend into heaven; to bring down a book which men can read!

Muhammad rejected such a notion and disavowed for himself any such power. The only token given to Muhammad is the message itself (6:125) and the Scripture (29:50), that is the Qur'ān which no other agent can produce (17:88).[9] Actually the message, or the writing itself, is the only sign for any prophet, as it was for the other two literate prophets David and Jesus who brought down "the Psalms and...the Scriptures giving light" (3:184), respectively. Not even the pronouncement of a Qur'ān is able to cause an extraordinary event for the unbeliever to believe: "Had it been possible for a Qur'ān[10] to cause the mountains to move, or the earth to be torn asunder, or the dead to speak, (this Qur'ān would have done so)...." (13:31). This statement seems to be in tension with Jesus' words "If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, 'Move from here to there,' and it will move; and nothing will be impossible to you" (Matt. 17:20), and "If you had faith as a grain of mustard seed, you could say to this sycamine tree, 'Be rooted up, and be planted in the sea,' and it will obey you" (Lk. 17:6). And yet in the earliest collection of traditional narratives about Muhammad we read of such miracles as the following:

> . . . the Apostles of Allah — upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace — was at al-Hajūn and was in grief and distress. He said: 'Allahumma, show me this day a miracle, after which I will not care who among my people treats me as false.' Now there was a tree ahead on the road leading to Madina, so he summoned it, and, separating itself from the earth, it came till it was before him and salaamed to him. Then when he commanded it it returned [to its place]. He said: 'After this I care not who among my people treats me false.'[11]

In this narrative, reminding ourselves of the distinction made by the Muslims between the words of the Qur'ān and of the words of the Prophet, it is Muhammad's own words that result in a miracle! Following this one, there are two more similar miracles, in a rather amusing context. Muhammad, out of modesty, orders two trees to join together in order to satisfy his physical needs in private! Is this an effort on the part of the earliest Muslims, who might have heard of those words of Jesus, to depict Muhammad as the true man of faith whom Jesus was longing for, in vain, among his contemporaries? Is this, perhaps, an effort to show the fulfilment of Jesus' words in Muhammad, "the seal" of the Prophets? What were the causes and the stimulus for the emergence of power and of the embellishment of the life of Muhammad with miracles?

The Qur'ān alludes that already at the time of Muhammad the Jews demanded from him "a greater thing of Moses aforetime" (4:153). Later Byzantine polemicists did precisely that on the part of Christianity; they compared the signs of Moses with those of Jesus and found the signs of Jesus greater than those of Moses. Thus, they justified to the Muslims the superiority and the supersession of Christianity over Judaism. This logic left Islam responsible to justify its superiority and supersession over Christianity by ascribing to Muhammad even greater signs than those of Jesus. In the Muslim-Christian controversy, during the earliest Abbasid caliphate, the original Islamic notion of a prophetic-progressive revelation (according to which a prophet fulfills and complements the message of the previous prophet, and thus the matter of signs and miracles does not enter the debate)[12] develops into a notion according to which every later prophet supersedes and abrogates the previous prophet on account of his *personal greatness*; thus the matter of signs and miracles becomes an indispensable criterion for comparison. 'Amr ibn Bahr Jāhiz (776?-869?), a Mutazilite from Basra, and a most able *abid* (a serious thinker with a popularizing and entertaining wit) believes[13] that Muhammad had in his record many "signs, arguments, proofs, and miracles, diverse manifestations of his wondrous life, both at home and abroad." However his contemporaries were not so mindful in collecting these evidences, as they were in compiling the Qur'ān. "The first Muslims were brought (to commit this omission) by their confidence in the manifest radiance (of the acts of the Prophet)." He acknowledges that in his times Islam was under challenge and that such evidence would have been very useful for the defense of the faith. He writes:

> ...(if our ancestors had carried out this task, no one) today could challenge the truth of these things, neither atheist *zindig*, stubborn materialist, licentious fop, gullible moron or callow stripling.

The quotation is indicative of the pressure under which the Islamic community was from outside, as well as from within, to produce a higher profile for Muhammad, and of the inadequacy of the Mutazilite rationalism to spark enthusiasm among the Muslim populace.

On the Christian side Theodore Abū Qurra (ca. 750-825) from Edessa, bishop of Haran in Mesopotamia, appears to be a characteristic exponent and possible source of this change in the Islamic prophetology and in the tone of the Muslim-Christian encounter. Abū Qurra in one of his Refutations of Islam[14] states explicitly that the Muslims are wrong in assuming that Moses and Jesus became believable because of their teaching and of their message. Each one of them became believable because there was a previous prophecy about him, *as well as* because of "the signs, marvels and various powers" he performed. No one, therefore, should believe in Muhammad for what he preached and taught, without such proofs. The implication is quite clear: Muhammad's teaching is one thing, which might have merit; but this is not enough to qualify him as a prophet, without supernatural signs. If such signs could be shown one could, possibly, accept him as a prophet. The challenge for the Muslim is even clearer. Find out, discover (or possibly invent) miracles to make your prophet believable! Abū Qurra sounds, perhaps, suggestive when he specifies the kind of signs Moses performed: he threw his rod and it became a snake; he put his hand in his chest and it contracted leprosy; he pulled it out again and it was clean. He turned the water into blood. Then he gives a list of Jesus' signs: his supernatural conception; the change of water into wine; the healing of blind men, of lepers, of paralytics and men of other infirmities; his transfiguration; the expulsion of demons; the feeding of a crowd; the raising of dead; rectification of physical handicaps. Abū Qurra implies that every later prophet must show more signs than the previous one. If Muhammad were, indeed, a prophet he ought to have performed greater miracles. His refutation ends with a direct challenge, and possibly, directive to the Muslims: "Where is, then, your prophet? This is clear (i.e. he is to be found nowhere)."[15]

In another brief polemic work of his[16] Abū Qurra sets forth again the two criteria by which he judged Muhammad's claim to prophethood, the existence of a testimony by a previous prophet and the demonstration of miracles. He says to his Muslim interlocutor:[17]

> My father has taught me to accept a messenger (only) if he has been foretold by a previous one, and if he has proven himself reliable through signs. Your Muhammad, however, is completely deprived of and irrelevant to both. For neither an old prophet pre-announced him as a prophet, nor did he prove himself reliable through signs.[18]

The Muslim responds that Muhammad meets both these criteria. He was foretold by Jesus,[19] but the Christians have deleted his prophecy from the gospel. As to the second criterion, here is how the dialogue develops:

> The Barbarian: Even though I have no testimony (now, of Muhammad's prophethood) from the Gospel, yet from the signs he performed he is proven to be a true prophet.
> The Christian: What sign did he perform?
> The Barbarian, having turned to a falsified mythology and unable to say anything true, got quiet.[20]

On this last note and with the question of miracles as the highlight of the Muslim inability to prove his prophet, the "dialogue" ends. It is unfortunate, from the historical point of view, that Abū Qurra gives us no indication as to the kind of miracles the Muslim had cited. What we gather from this exchange with certainty is that as early as the late eighth century there existed traditions of miraculous acts of Muhammad which the Muslims used for apologetic purposes.

Another polemic writing, the letter to the "Emir at Damascus" attributed to Arethas, Archbishop of Caesaria (850-early tenth century), compares Jesus to Muhammad also in terms of miracles. It says:

> We Christians were informed from many prophets who pre-announced the presence on earth of Christ, the Son of God and God, and we learned of him and believed in him through the deeds this same Jesus Christ did on earth. For, everything that the prophets...pre-announced about Christ was accomplished by him, that he will be born of a virgin and that he will perform many miracles on earth, he will raise men from the dead, will expel demons from men, and will heal sick men, and that he will be crucified by the lawless Jews....[21]

Did such a challenge have any impact upon the Muslims? Ibn Sa'd (764-845) is one of the earliest authorities of *hadith* related to the Prophet. He died only twenty years after Abū Qurra. His main work *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt* (Book of Classes) is a basic source of information and traditional narratives of the life of the Prophet, his companions and his successors.

A section of his work is devoted to the miracles of Muhammad. It is quite interesting that several of these miracles sound as if they are being offered as responses to such Christians as Abū Qurra, and they bear an amazing resemblance to miracles of Jesus found in the Gospels.[22] I venture (although reluctantly) to suggest that there is an intriguing, subtle parallelism between the two sets of miracles. What one should notice in this juxtaposition is not the similarity beteen the two cases, but rather the characteristically equivalent theme, or the message, that transpires through the narrative. Here is a selective list of them:

1, 2, 3	Muhammad's command causes trees to be uprooted and then returned to their place.	[Cf. Lk. 17:6]
5	Muhammad ascends into heaven sitting on a branch of a tree with Gabriel sitting on another.	[Cf. Lk. 24:50-51 and Mt. 4:6]
6	Muhammad is protected from his enemies.	[Cf. Lk. 20:19; Jn. 7:20-46, esp. 7:30]
10	Muhammad turns water into milk and fresh goat cheese.	[Cf. Jn. 2:1-11]

11	A wolf addresses a shepherd and bids him to go where the Prophet is preaching.	[Cf. Jn. 1:43-49?]
12	Muhammad raises his gaze to the sky and then to the ground while exhorting his listeners against sensuality.	[Cf. Jn. 8:1-11]
13	Muhammad reveals to his Jewish challengers four hidden matters.	[Cf. Jn. 4:4-19]
15	Muhammad reveals the names of those 'hypocrites' who had been speaking against him.	[Cf. Lk. 13:10-17 and Mt. 9:3-4]
17-25, 26, 27, 34, 35	Muhammad causes water or food to multiply, wherefrom many people either perform ablutions or feed themselves.	[Cf. Mt. 14:13-21; Mk. 6:32-44; Lk. 9:10-17; Jn. 6:1-13]
36	Muhammad heals a man with a bad eye.	[Cf. Mk. 8:22-26 and elsewhere]
37	Muhammad causes a tree branch to become a steel sword.	[Cf. Lk. 22:35-38?]
40	Muhammad foretells the destruction of prejudicial documents of the Quraish against the Banu Hashim.	
	In two other miracles (29 and 32) Muhammad causes either a dry ewe or an immature she-kid to produce milk.	

It seems that the miracles given by Ibn Sa'd precede the miracles developed later by the Muslim community, on the basis of the Qur'ān. The Muslim piety began first and moved faster to influence the course of the theological definition of the Qur'ān as the uncreated word of God. On the other hand, the process of this theological definition forced the Muslim community to eventually downplay the "apocryphal" miracles of Ibn Sa'd and standardize those for which the Qur'ān provides a "canonical" basis. It is interesting that the earliest Christian anti-Islamic polemicists did not know – or at least they do not refer to – these miracles. The use of the *mir'āj* story, for example, appears for the first time in

'Ali Tabari's (middle of the ninth century) defense of Islam.[23]

Indeed, the Qur'ān in its cryptic, "laconic and reserved" or "pregnant words"[24] provided the basis for the development of elaborate miraculous deeds of Muhammad. The most characteristic case is, of course, the *mi'rāj,*[25] or the ascension of the Prophet to heaven, based on Sūrah 17:1.

> Glorified be He Who carried His servant by night from the Inviolable Place of Worship to the Far Distant Place of Worship the neighborhood whereof We have blessed, that We might show him of Our tokens![26]

Another case is the narrative of the splitting of Muhammad's breast,[27] based on Sūrah 94:1-4.

> Have We not caused thy bosom to dilate,
> And eased thereof the burden
> Which weighed down thy back;
> And exalted thy fame?

Also Sūrah 5:11 gave rise to the traditional story of Gabriel striking an enemy of Muhammad the moment he was about to smite the Prophet with a sword.[28] Finally Sūrah 54:1 ("The hour drew nigh and the moon was rent in twain") gave rise to the tradition of the splitting of the moon. [29] A strange appearance of the moon in the sky as if it had been torn asumder, astonishes the people of Mecca as the idolaters were persecuting Muhammad. Although this is not used as a miracle of the Prophet, cited in the context of Muhammad's confrontation with the unbelievers, it plays the role of a miraculous reaffirmation of his prophetic authority.

Bartholomeos of Edessa (ninth century?) represents that group of Byzantine polemicists who find themselves now in a position to counteract the "canonical" miracles of Muhammad. After challenging the prophethood of Muhammad on the basis that he pronounced no prophecy, nor did he foretell things which were going to happen even to himself,[30] he takes up the matter of miracles as a necessary proof of prophethood. For Bartholomeos, Muhammad could be taken as an apostle if the Qur'ān "did not contain at times the truth and at times the false,"[31] but he certainly is not a prophet,

> for we know a prophet from his prophecy, from the signs and from the marvels. We (Christians) have such a prophet who foretells the future as well as what took place in the past, and who shows signs and marvels. We

> know, however, nothing of this sort from Muhammad, so that we may call him prophet or apostle. If yourself know anything, tell me. I do not know of any. If you know show this to me, where and in which book it is written. I have gone through all your books but I found nothing worthied, except things worth of laughter.[32]

Bartholomeos ridicules the tradition of Muhammad's ascension and admonishes his Muslim interlocutor to disregard such a story:

> Muhammad, being earthly, creature, servant, mortal and corruptible, did not ascend into heaven. Do not deceive yourself that it is true that he ascended into heaven or that his daughter Fatima testifies to this event.[33]

He returns to this miracle on various occasions[34] and he, mistakenly, attributes all its details to the Qur'ān itself.[35] This is indicative of two things: First that the *mir'āj* by the late ninth century had become a central theme in the Islamic faith, and second that the "canonical" miracles of the Qur'ān predominated over the "apocryphal" ones of Ibn Sa'd. Bartholomeos, in spite of his claim that he had read all the books of the Muslims, does not refer to any such miracles. Bartholomeos is also aware of the miracle of the splitting of the moon for which there is also a Qur'ānic reference.[36] Later on he undertakes a rather detailed excursus through the life of Muhammad for the sake of his Muslim interlocutor because, as he claims,

> you do not know everything. I know (about him) and I know it very well. If you do not know your literature you do not know mine either.... Thus, you are not in a position to know exactly about Muhammad as we Christians do! Because we, Christians, have been around before Muhammad and we know exactly everything about him![37]

On that basis Bartholomeos goes on to compare extensively Muhammad to Jesus, in terms of supernatural events and miracles: There is no comparison between their mothers and the way they conceived their sons. Furthermore Jesus performed miracles which Muhammad did not. He did not raise anyone from the dead, nor a Lazaros after four days in the grave, nor did he open the eyes of a man born blind; he did not heal men with diseases, deaf or dumb men; he did not ease storms, enter rooms through closed doors, transfigure himself in front of his disciples, nor was he immortal.[38] "And yet you, shamelessly, claim that Muhammad is like Jesus Christ!"[39] After lengthy parallelisms between Muhammad and

Jesus, Bartholomeos questions once more the Muslim, "How, then, do you say that he (Muhammad) is brother of Jesus?"[40]

It is clear that by the end of the ninth century the Muslim piety had reached the point in which Muhammad compared satisfactorily to Jesus, in terms of signs and miracles. With such a record the challenge now returns to the Christians to prove that Muhammad is inferior to Jesus, in character and morality. The process of the Christianization of Muhammad and the Islamization of Jesus has been completed. The attack against the personality and morality of Muhammad begins.[41]

Summary and Concluding Remarks

That the false comparison between Muhammad and Jesus is the, or one of the, central issues of contention between Islam and Christianity is very well known. That the place and function of Muhammad in Islam was from the beginning misunderstood by the Christians is also known and abundantly manifested in the entire Christian anti-Islamic literature, East and West. This was not entirely the fault of the Christians. Modern Muslim thinkers and Christian orientalists[42] are more forceful and theologically more intuitive and sensitive to suggest that the proper theological affinity exists between Muhammad and the virgin Mary as the chosen agents to bring forth the Word of God, or between the Qur'ān and Jesus as the manifestation of the Word of God, or between the Hadith and the gospels as the produce of the apostolic tradition. But this more balanced phenomenological understanding is the result of a long and painful confrontation between the two religious communities, and they are articulated still by lonely voices. The understanding of the essential difference between Islam and Christianity has, for the majority of Muslims and Christians, been halted in the spirit of the controversies of the late eighth and ninth centuries.

Nonwithstanding the authoritative position of the Qur'ān on the matter, the embellishment of Muhammad's life with miracles is due mainly to three Islamic factors: first to the religious fervor and piety of the believers; second to the absence of Qur'ānic criticism in the Muslim community; and third to the existence of discrete allusions in the Qur'ān to supernatural acts involving Muhammad.[43] What we want to suggest is that the direct challenge of Christian polemicists comparing Muhammad to the Jesus of the gospels is also one of the immediate and effective causes of the exaltation of Muhammad. The indication of such a challenge is certainly clear. As far as the process of this development is concerned, it seems that there are two kinds of miracles attributed to Muhammad, one which the Muslim piety developed by delving into the "apostolic tradition" and another one which finds its source in allusive wordings of the Qur'ān. The former seems to have been produced at the demand of popular piety, as well as a response to outside challenges, especially Christian polemics. The miracles of Muhammad from the "apostolic tradition" tend to resemble acts of Jesus in an effort to match Muhammad to Jesus, successfully. In the meantime the development in the theological-speculative sphere, in regard to the qualities of God and the uncreatedness of the Qur'ān, forced the Muslims to seek Qur'ānic substantiation for the miracles of Muhammad. Certain wordings of the Qur'ān provided the gist for such "miracles." The proliferation of miracles and the gradual exaltation of the Prophet forced the Christian polemicists to change emphasis, and attack now the character of Muhammad.

From the Christian point of view it is interesting to note that while the gospel narrative is full of miracles of Jesus, the word "miracle" (*θαῦμα*) does not occur in the gospels, except twice in two other books of the New Testament (2 Cor. 11:14 and Rev. 17:6). What appears in the gospels is three times the word "marvel" (*τέρας*) (Mt. 24:24; Mk. 13:22 and Jn. 4:48) and over thirty times the word "sign" or "pointer" (*σημεῖον*)! This is a significant indicator of the self-understanding of the "miracle" by the New Testament itself. I have no desire to enter the territory of the New Testament scholars, with no such credentials. But even a layman, when reading the gospels, cannot help noticing what is by now a rather well-documented conclusion[44] : that the progressive character of the biblical text – teaching, imageries and especially the miracles – is masterfully leading and "pointing to" the Resurrection, the miracle *par excellence*! The proclamation of the gospel and the key to the understanding of the essence of Christianity is to be found at the end of the narrative. It is under the light of the Resurrection that a Christian, in spite of Jesus' expressed disapproval of the miracles as proofs (Mt. 12:39), can find, in retrospect, meaning in them.

If this is the case, one should be open to the Muslim assertion[45] that under the light of the event of the Qur'ān – the miracle *par* *excellence* of Islam – all other "miracles" of Muhammad, implicit or explicit, historical or apocryphal, are manifestations of, and pointers to, this cardinal event: that the uncreated Word of God became manifest and was spoken through a mortal man, in space and time.

NOTES

1. (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 148.

2. *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1967), p. 82. This does not seem to be the opinion of modern Muslim commentators like Āsaf 'Ali Asghar Faidi who has suggested to his colleagues that "The better we get acquainted with the contribution of Judaism and Christianity, the fuller insight we gain into the message and doctrines of the Prophet"; quoted by J.M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)* (Leiden, 1968), p. 68, n.2.

3. *The Traditions of Islam. An Introduction to the Study of the Hadith Literature* (Beirut, 1966), Chapter 6, "Borrowing from Christian documents and Tradition," pp. 132-49.

4. Whether a distinction between a Muhammad of history and a Muhammad of faith is legitimate, is less important than the fact that Islamic piety has firmly established the latter. (Cf. J.E. Royster's "The Meaning of Muhammad for Muslims. A Phenomenological study of recurrent images of the Prophet," Ph.D. dissertation, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1970; and "The Study of Muhammad; A survey of approaches from the perspective of the History and Phenomenology of Religion," *The Muslim World*, 62 [1972] 49-70.) It is my contention that Christian Byzantine polemics contributed to the exaltation of Muhammad, which subsequently the Muslim piety enhanced and developed. In this respect the study of Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra*, vis-a-vis the Eastern Christian polemics is long overdue. The Jewish and Christian influence on the *Sīra* was long suspected by Sprenger and Nöldeke, and noticed by Goldziher and Tor Andrae. Cf. "Sira" in the shorter *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, H.A.R. Gibb & J.H. Kraemer, ed. (Leiden, 1965).

5. All passages from the Qur'ān are, for reasons of convenience, taken from M.M. Pickthall's translation, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York, n.d.).

6. I want to take exception to Adel-Théodore Khoury's definite statement that the Qur'ān considers the signs of Moses, and of Jesus, as signs of

their mission and reliability. *Polemique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII^e-XIII^e S.)* (Leiden, 1972), p. 42. All Qur'ānic references he cites (p. 42, n. 87; p. 43, n. 86) speak, precisely, of "Our (God's) token," or of "proofs from (your) Lord," or "Our revelations," etc.

7. Almost all passages referring to this opposition to and clarification of Muhammad's prophethood, as well as those referring to Moses' signs are from the late Meccan period (i.e., prior to 622 A.D.). The shift of the opposition from the polytheists in Mecca to the Jews and Christians is reflected in a Medinan passage where "the People of the Book ask of thee [i.e. Muhammad] that thou shouldst cause an (actual) Book to descend upon them from heaven" (4:153)!

8. 17:74. This passage is traditionally used not so much in reference to Muhammad's miracles but as an abrogation of the earlier famous "satanic verses" of the Qur'ān (53:19-23). Cf. also 22:51.

9. See also 10:16-17, 38; 11:13; 28:49. Later Islamic theology elaborating on these passages developed the doctrine of the miraculous character and inimitability of the Qur'ān. Cf. W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 30-31, 33, 35-37. For the many Muslim authors on the subject see L. Gardet, M.M. Anawati, *Introduction a la théologie musulmane. Essai de théologie comparée* (Paris, 1948), p. 41, n.2. For al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), the main exponent of the doctrine of the miraculous character of the Qur'ān, miracles do not prove the divinity of Jesus as this would imply that the other miracle-performing prophets – including Muhammad – were divine, too. Cf. A. Abel, "Le chapitre sur le Christianisme dans le '*Tahmīd*,' d'al-Bāqillānī (mort en 1013), *Études d'orientalisme dediées à la memoire de Levi-Provençal*, 5.1 (Paris, 1962), p. 8.

10. Pickthall translates the word Qur'ān as "Lecture." The word here stands for a single recital or pronouncement, not for the whole book.

11. Ibn Sa'd (764-845), *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr* (Leiden, 1907), 1. The section of the Miracles has been translated by A. Jeffery, ed., in his *A Reader on Islam* ('S-Gravenhage, 1962), p. 309. The entire book has been translated into English by S.M. Haq and H.K. Ghazanfar (2 vols., Leiden, 1967-72).

12. Cf. for example Anastasios Sinaites (640-700), John of Damascus (ca. 652-750). Unlike the Byzantine writers of the early Umayyad period who are primarily reacting to the conquests of the Arabs and writing about their religion, the later ones are engaging in apologetics of Christianity and in polemics against Islam. Cf. W.E. Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38 (1969), 139-49 and D.J. Constantelos, "The Moslem Conquests of the Near East as revealed in the Greek sources of

the seventh and the eighth centuries," *Byzantion* 42 (1973) 325-57.

13. C. Pellat, *The Life and Works of Jāhiz* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 40.

14. PG 96:1596B-97C. Although I have treated this text as one that reflects basically the *thought* of John of Damascus (Cf. *John of Damascus on Islam, "The Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* [Leiden, 1972], pp. 99ff), I do not assume that John of Damascus phrased this dialogue in this exact way or that he was challenging in it the Muslims to produce miracles of Muhammad. John of Damascus' trilogy on Islam is clearly systematic and theological, addressing itself to its essentials: a) an Introduction to Islam (ch. 100/101 *On the Heresies*); b) The Islamic doctrine of free will and predestination (*Disputation*); and c) The Islamic claim of the prophetic-progressive revelation (*Disputation of Abū Qurra through the voice of John of Damascus*).

15. PG 96:1597C.

16. *Opusculum*, no. 19, PG 97:1544A-45A.

17. The anti-Islamic works of Abū Qurra are in the form of dialogues between a Christian and a Muslim. We must assume that in these dialogues the interlocutors are ficticious characters. However such dialogues, which were written as easy manuals for the sake of Christians, reflect real circumstances, and imply actual confrontations.

18. PG 97:1544CD. Progressively Byzantine writers challenged the prophethood of Muhammad on the basis of five criteria, not necessarily in that order: testimonies of revelation, testimonies of previous prophets, proofs of prophetic ability, proof of miracles, and examination of his personal character. Cf. A. Th. Khoury, *La Controverse byzantine avec l'Islam* (VII^e Cahier d'Études Chrétiennes orientales, *Foi et Vie* (Paris, 1969), pp. 38-40. The history of the Muslim-Christian dialogue shows a systematic response on the part of the Muslims to each one of these challenges and a reversion of the Christian criticism. It seems to me, however, that this exercise resulted in the gradual exaltation of Muhammad and contributed to a change in the religion from Islam to Mohammedanism.

19. An inplied reference to John 15:23-26 and 16:7-15, as well as to Surah 61:6.

20. PG 97:1545A.

21. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Arethas' letter to the Emir at Damascus," *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1979-60), 293.

22. Ref. to the text in A. Guillaume *A Reader on Islam*, pp. 309-30. For reasons of a better accounting I have numbered each miracle as it begins with a new *isnād*, or chain of transmitters.

23. *The Book of Religion and Empire*, transl. by A. Mingana (Manchester, 1922), pp. 30ff. Cf. also Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII*^{e}*-XIII*^{e} *S.)*, p. 47.

24. Cf. Muir, *Life*, p. lx; and lxx-lxxi.

25. For an easy access to the traditional account of the *mir'āj* see A. Jeffrey, *Islam. Muhammad and his Religion* (Indianapolis, 1958), pp. 35-46, and to his *A Reader on Islam*, pp. 621-39. Cf. also Geo Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and His Ascension, King and Saviour V* (Uppsala, 1955); and M-R. Seguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet* (New York, 1977).

26. Cf. also 53:13-18.

27. A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad. A translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 71-72. Cf. also Harris Birkeland, *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast* (Oslo, 1955).

28. Cf. al-Wākidī (797-874) who is considered second only to Ibn Ishāq in biographical narratives of Muhammad. Cf. also, Muir, *Life*, p. lxx, n. 1.

29. Cf. A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, Alphabetically Arranged* (Leiden, 1960), p. 164.

30. *Confutation of the Hagarene*, PG 104:1389AB.

31. 1380D.

32. 1392A.

33. 1400D.

34. 1432D and esp. 1440C.

35. "...as I have read in your Qur'ān," 1392C; and 1432D-41B.

36. 1429D and 1432D. Cf. also above n. 29.

37. 1417A.

38. Cf. 1417BC.

39. 1417D.

40. 1388B.

41. Cf. above n. 18.

42. Cf. for example S. Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (Boston, 1972), and W.C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (New York, 1957).

43. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam*, pp. 43ff.

44. Cf. F.C. Grant, *The Gospels: Their origin and their growth* (New York, 1957).

45. Cf., for example, the views of Tāhā Husayn, 'Abbās Mahmud al-'Aqqād and others in A. Wessels, *A Modern Arabic Biography of Muhammad* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 9ff.

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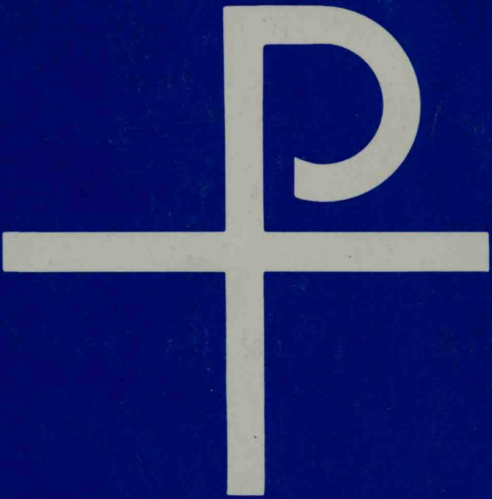

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review is delighted to present papers read at the Second Greek Orthodox-Southern Baptist Consultation held at the Baptist Assembly, Bagdad, Kentucky, on 25-27 May 1981. This was the second meeting between Orthodox and Baptists, the first being held at Saint Basil's Academy, Garrison, New York, in 1977. Its papers were published in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 22, No. 4 (1977).

Both consultations were conducted in an atmosphere of extreme friendliness and goodwill. The first meeting was in many ways an exploratory one: Southern Baptists were introduced to the Orthodox and the Orthodox to Southern Baptists. The discussions centered on the topics of salvation, worship, and authority.

The second consultation focused on the subjects of church and state, and evangelism and mission. In addition to discovering much about each other that was unknown, the great 'surprise' was how much both have in common. Perhaps this is the greatest value in ecumenical meetings. Too often the focus has been on differences (which, admittedly, are very important and are not to be minimized), with insufficient attention being paid to the 'common faith' in the Lord Jesus Christ. This 'common faith' must serve, at the very least, as the foundation of a fundamental and abiding friendship and cooperation for all Christians.

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Andreas J. Phytrakes (ed.), *Ριζάρειος Ἐκκλησιαστική Παιδεία, Τόμος Β΄* [Rizareios Ecclesiastical Education, Volume 2]
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Τιμητικόν Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς τόν Μητροπολίτην Κίτρους Βαρνάβαν ἐπι τῇ 25ετηρίδι τῆς Ἀρχιερατείας Του [A Volume Dedicated to Metropolitan Varnavas of Kitros on his 25th Anniversary as Hierarch]
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Archbishop Methodios Fouyas, *Ὁ Χριστιανισμός καί ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμός ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, Νουβία, καί Μερόῃ, Τόμος δεύτερος* [Christianity and Judaism in Ethiopia, Nubia, and Meroe, Volume 2]
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Editor's Note

It is my happy privilege to thank all those who contributed to the success of the First Hellenic College Conference on Byzantine Studies, held on 11 April 1981 on the campus of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Hellenic College, through the efforts of its President, Dr. Thomas C. Lelon, and the Byzantine Fellowship, through the good offices of its President and Executive Director, Captain Nicholas Kulukundis and Father George Poulos, respectively, provided the funds for the Conference.

The Hellenic College Arrangements Committee, headed by Father Thomas FitzGerald, offered generous hospitality to the speakers and participants alike, while the Program Committee, chaired by Professor John Rosser, generously offered its time.

Special thanks are owed to the scholars who presented papers which are printed in this volume,[1] and to Professor Ihor Ševčenko, Conference Chairman, whose introductory and closing remarks added much to the content of the Conference.

The names of all the contributors to the Conference on "Byzantium and Islam" appear on pages 325-26 of this volume, and are printed as a token of the appreciation of the G.O.T.R.

N. M. Vaporis

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[1] I am sorry to note that due to technical difficulties, the paper of Professor Irfan Shahîd does not appear in this volume.

FIRST HELLENIC COLLEGE CONFERENCE ON BYZANTINE STUDIES

"Byzantium and Islam"

11 APRIL 1981

Welcome: Thomas Lelon, President of Hellenic College

Introduction: Ihor Ševčenko, Conference Chairman, Harvard University

SESSION 1: THE BYZANTINE DEFENSE AGAINST ISLAM

Chairman : Emily A. Hanawalt, Boston University

1. "Heraklios and the Arabs: New Perspectives"
   Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr., The University of Chicago
2. "The Role of Fortifications in the Defense of Asia Minor Against the Arabs from the Eighth to the Tenth Century
   John Rosser, Boston College
3. "The Defenses of Asia Minor Against the Turks"
   Clive Foss, University of Massachusetts, Boston

SESSION 2: THE MUSLIM CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR

Chairman: Father N.M. Vaporis, Hellenic College

1. "Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History"
   Rudi Lindner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
2. "The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century"
   Speros Vryonis, Jr., University of California, Los Angeles

SESSION 3: CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS INTERACTION BETWEEN BYZANTIUM AND ISLAM

Chairman: John Rosser, Boston College

1. "The Sons of Ismael: The Self Image"
   Irfan Shahīd, Georgetown University

2. "Iconoclasts and Mu'tazila: The Politics of Anthropomorphism"
   Robert M. Haddad, Smith College
3. "The Formation of Later Islamic Doctrines as a Response to Byzantine Polemics: The Miracles of Muhammad"
   Daniel Sahas, University of Waterloo

Closing comments: Ihor Ševčenko

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logical School of Chalke as Carried Out by Athenagoras I" (52-57); Chrysostomos, Metropolitan of Myra, "The Curriculum and Especially the Field of Systematic Theology in the Theological School of Chalke" (79-99); Aristoteles Kontantinides, "Germanos Strenopoulos Metroplitan of Thyateira" (104-105); Meletios Krithiotes, "Ioakeim, Metropolitan of Derkos" (107-109); Iakovos of America, "A Dedication to Professors J. Panagiotides, Photios Paschalides, and Alexander Zotos, Bishop of Tracheia" (111-15); Symeon Metropolitan of Eirenoupolis, "Emilianos Metropolitan of Philadelphia" (117-24); Chrestos Mavrophrydes, " Chrysostomos Koroneos, Metropolitan of Neokaisaria" (127-34); Stylianos Archbishop of Australia, "Iakovos Metropolitan Ikonion" (137-43); Eleutherios Th. Ioannides, "John Panagiotides, 1892-1968" (145-53); John Porphyros, "Immortals, A Poem" (155-56); Demetrios of Constantinople, "Patriarchal Letter" (161); Vartholomaios, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Theological School of Chalke" (163-69); Nicholaos of Alexandria, "Patriarchal Letter' (171); Demetrios Kottakes, "Elias IV, Patriarch of Antioch" (175-80); Demetrios Frangos, "The Contribution of the Chalke Alumni to Greek Orthodoxy in America" (181-92); George Tsoumas, "The Holy Cross School of Theology in Boston, USA and the Alumni of Chalke" (193-201); Vasileios Anagnostopoulos, "The Library of the Holy Trinity Patriarchal Monastery in Chalke During the Fourth Period in the History of the Theological School of Chalke, 1951-1971" (203-12); Konstantinos Kallinikos, "How Foreigners See Our School" (213-24); Maximos, Metropolitan of Stavroupolis, "Memories from the Theological School of Chalke" (227-46); Paul, Metropolitan of Sweden, "Canon Twenty-eight of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod at Chalcedon" (247-54); Parthenios Metropolitan of Charthage, "The Dialogues" (255-57); George Tsetses, "A Contribution of the Theological School of Chalke to the Ecumenical Movement" (259-63); Aristoteles Konstantinides, "Unity and Union of Churches" (265-81); Damaskenos Metropolitan of Tranoupolis, "The Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Chambesy, Geneva" (283-88); Evangelos, Metropolitan of Perge, "Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music Tradition and Style in Constantinople" (289-96); John Panagopoulos, "The Celebration of the New Life in Christ" (297-311); Demetrios Kottakes, "From the Paths of the Secular World towards Eternity" (313-29); Panagiotes Fouyas, "The Contribution of the Immigrants to the Cultivation of Philhellenism" (331-41); Photios (Formerly) Metropolitan of Paphos, "Thoughts and Sighs from My Soul" (343-44); Synesios Metropolitan of Kassandria, "All Those Gone with the Wind" (345-46); Demetrios P. Manos, "Chalke" (347-71); and George Vyzienos, "The Theological School of Chalke" (375-76).

Vasil T. Istavridis
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Ριζάρειος 'Εκκλησιαστική Παιδεία, τόμος Β'. [Rizareios Ecclesiastical Education, Volume 2] By Andreas J. Phytrakes (ed.). Athens, 1981, Pp. 675, 32 illustrations.

The second volume of the journal *Rizareios Ecclesiastical Education* appeared three years after the publication of Volume I. (Athens, 1978, pp. 367). It has almost doubled its pages and made considerable progress.

The volume includes the following: A. J. Phytrakes, "Prolegomena" (pp. 3-4); Archimandrite Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, "Don't Become Disobedient to the Rizares' Sacred Will, an Address" (7-11); A. J. Phytrakes, "Our Ecclesiastical Education, the Problem of Education and Reeducation of Our Priests" (13-62); Demetrios Kousogiannes, "The Establishment of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School" (63-90); Demetrios J. Panagiotopoylos-Kouros, "The Teachers of Music in the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School, 1844-1980" (91-115); Sophocles D. Loles, "The Rizareios Ecclesiastical School as an Educational Institution" (117-43); D. Koutsogiannes, "Additional Material Concerning the Contribution of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School to the Clergy of Greece" (145-59); and "The Contribution and Mission of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School, Opinions and Views" (161-82); Dionysios, Metropolitan of Servia and Kozane, "The Hymns of the Church" (187-203); Christodoulos Metropolitan of Demetrias, "The Corrected Julian (New) and the Gregorian Calendar Are Not the Same" (205-27); Markos A. Siotes, "Bethlehem, the City of David" (229-56); Andreas Theodorou, "The Opinions of Saint Clement of

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Chalke, Turkey

Τιμητικόν 'Αφιέρωμα εἰς τόν Μητροπολίτην Κίτρους Βαρνάβαν *ἐπι τῆ 25ετηρίδι τῆς* 'Αρχιερατείας Του. [A Volume Dedicated to Metropolitan Varnavas of Kitros on his 25th Anniversary as Hierarch]. Athens, 1980, Pp. 379, with illustrations. Paper.

In this *Festschrift* we have a number of studies pertaining to the fields of law, canon law, and history, matters of direct academic interest to Metropolitan Barnabas. The contributors are mainly metropolitans or university professors, who write in Greek except for Professor Lewis Patsavos (Hellenic College) who presents his contribution in English. The contents of the volume are as follows:

Panteleimon Rodopoulos, Metropolitan of Tyroloe and Serention, "Prologue" (pp. 7-8); "Official Ecclesiastical Letters" from the archbishops and patriarchs of Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Cyprus, Poland, Finland, and Czechoslovakia (9-23); Dionysios Ladopoulos, Metropolitan of Neapolis and Stavropoulis, "The Metropolitan Barnabas of Kitros" (25-42); Athanasios A. Angelopoulos, "The Diocese of Platamon and Those Who Served as Its Hierarchs (43-82); Vartholomais Archontones, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, "Attempts Made Fifty Years Ago at Convening an Ecumenical Synod" (83-92); Vasileios G. Ateses, Formerly Metropolitan of Lemnos, "A Nomocanon of Unknown Date and Authorship" (93-117); Constantine A Vavouskos, "Concerning the Annulment of the Election of a Metropolitan" (119-130); Athanasios G. Geromichalos, "Description of Fourteen Unpublished Codices Containing Correspondence of the Metropolis of Grevena" (131-43); Gardacevic, "The Oldest Handbook of Orthodox Church Law" (145-60); John D. Zizioulas, "The Synodical Institution: Historical, Ecclesiological and Canonical Problems" (161-90); Chrysostomos Themeles, Metropolitan of Messenia "Unpublished 'Metriotis' of the Year 1804" (191-209); Dusan Lj. Kasic, "The Phanariotes in Serbia. Bishop Anthimos of Sabats (1902-1807)" (211-22); Emmanuel J. Constantinides, "Unpublished Catalogue of the Bishops of Kitros" (223-30); Anastasios N. Marinos, "The Prohibition of Women Entering the Holy Mountain" (231-58); Paul Menevisoglou, Metropolitan of Sweden, "The Second Canon of the Quintisext Ecumenical Synod" (259-81); Stephen J. Papadopoulos, "Dionysios Rallis Palaiologos, Metropolitan of Great Trinovo-Bulgaria, and His Efforts to Free the Subjugated Greeks and Bulgarians" (283-89); Christodoulos Paraskevaides, Metropolitan of Demetrias, "Is the Adoption of the 'Corrected' (New) Julian Calendar A Doctrinal Question?" (291-309); Lewis J. Patsavos, "Unity and Autocephaly-Reality or Illusion?" (311-20); Panteleimon Rodopoulos, Metropolitan of Tyroloe and Serention, "The Orthodox Diaspora from the Ecclesiastica and Canonical Viewpoint" (321-33); Spyridon M. Troianos, "Observations on the Formal and Essential Presuppositions for the Proclamation of Autocephaly and Autonomy in the Orthodox Church" (335-48); Nicholas B. Tomadakes, "The Non-Existent Metropolitan Matthaios of Thessalonike (1585-1586)" (349-53); and Vlasios J. Pheidas, "Photios the Great's Views on the Relations between Church and State" (335-75).

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Ὁ Χριστιανισμός καί ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμός ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, Νουβίᾳ, *καί* Μερόῃ, *τόμος δεύτερος*. [Christianity and Judaism in Ethiopia, Nubia and Meroe, Volume 2]. By Archbishop Methodios Fouyas. Athens, 1982. Pp. 246. 52 illustrations and maps.

Methodios Fouyas, who has served as the Orthodox Metropolitan of Axum in Ethiopia, a metropolis under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Alexandria, is the present Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain under the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He is a prolific writer of theology and history, having served as editor of, and frequent contributor to the journals: *Ekklesiastikos Pharos,* Alexandria, Egypt; Addis Ababa-Athens, 1952-1979; *Aba Salama,* Addis Ababa, 1970-1979, and *Ekklesia Kai Theologia*, London-Athens, 1980.

Volume 1 of the present study covers the history of Christianity and Judaism in Ethiopia (Axum) in 419 pages, and appeared in the year 1979. We now have, after an interval of almost three years, the second volume of the same study, covering the history of Christianity and Judaism in Nubia and Meroe.

Geographically, ancient Nubia was located on the banks of the Nile, between the southern part of present-day Egypt and the northern part of Sudan between the cities of Aswan and Hartum.

The four subtitles indicated above stand for the directives followed by the author in his academic work.

The writing of a systematic scientific work on Christianity in Nubia is a difficult job. For Christianity in Ethiopia there exists rich literary sources and archaeological evidence; the same is not true for Nubia. In the latter case, there are scant historical documents: some fragments from inscriptions, encyclicals, parts of the liturgy, and homilies. One has to reply mainly on archaeological material, such as sites, churches, icons, and the rest.

Overall, the two-volume work, *Christianity and Judaism in Ethiopia, Nubia and Meroe,* by Archbishop Methodios Fouyas, is a long-awaited study in Greek Orthodox theology.

Vasil T. Istavrides
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N.B. Apologies are extended to Professor James E. Wood, Jr. who was not identified correctly in the last number of the *Review.* Dr. Wood is Simon and Ethel Bunn Professor of Church-State Studies at Baylor University and founding editor of *Journal of Church and State* (p. vi).

In addition, the name of Professor John Travis was omitted at the end of his review of John Meyendorff's *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (p.100).

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The
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Theological
Review

Second Ecumenical Synod
Constantinople, A.D. 381

Volume 27
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EDITOR'S NOTE

Under the auspices of His Holiness, Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople, two symposia were held in the United States commemorating the 1600th anniversary of the Second Ecumenical Synod held in Constantinople in A.D. 381. The first was held at James Chapel of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and was sponsored by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; while the second met at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts. At both sites, clergymen and scholars of the Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches met to examine the history and theology of the First Ecumenical Synod held in the city of Constantinople and their importance and significance for present-day Christian theological thinking.

It is my happy duty to thank His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, under whose sponsorship the New York symposium met; His Excellency, Metropolitan Silas of New Jersey, who chaired the symposium; the Very Reverend Demetrios J. Constantelos of Stockton State College, who was both a participant and responsible for collecting and forwarding the papers of that meeting to this journal; and the participants: Dr. Deno J. Geanakoplos of Yale University, the Reverend Dr. Gerald H. Ettlinger, S.J. of Fordham University and the Reverend Dr. Geoffrey Wainwright of Union Theological Seminary.

Thanks are also due to Dr. Thomas C. Lelon, President of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, who sponsored the Brookline symposium; the Very Reverend Alkiviadis C. Calivas, Dean of Holy Cross; and the participants: the Reverend Dr. John E. Farrell of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts; Dr. Panagiotes Chrestou; the Reverend Dr. Lloyd G. Patterson; and the Right Reverend Bishop Maximos (Aghiorgoussis) of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

May the spirit of peace and understanding which prevailed at these meetings pervade future meetings and discussions on other theological subjects and issues as well.

N. M. Vaporis

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GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH

It might be argued that the early creeds had a five-part structure: God, Christ, Spirit, Church, last things. Pneumatology, ecclesiology, and eschatology were, however, so closely interrelated that together they came to compose the so-called "third article."[1] Thus, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed places the Church under the divine sovereignty of the Holy Spirit, now, and always, and unto ages of ages. In addressing my appointed theme—the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church—it will therefore be appropriate to draw the elements of my systematic outline from the "third article" of that ecumenical creed.

After the several stages of the Arian controversy, the primary concern of the Synod of Constantinople was to affirm the full deity of the Holy Spirit, third hypostasis of the Trinity. At stake, soteriologically, was the sanctification or divinization of Christian believers.[2] Unless the third person they had confessed and received at their baptism were fully God, their own full salvation was compromised; for only God can give participation in God.[3] In the order of knowledge and experience, soteriological considerations may come first; but soteriological considerations themselves require that, in the order of being, the God of the economy be identical with God in himself.[4] At the very beginning of the Constantinopolitan confession concerning the Holy Spirit, therefore, there stands the divine name "Lord": "We believe in the Holy Spirit, *the Lord* . . . " It is as such that, together with the Father and the Son, he is worshipped and glorified, as the creed will soon declare. But meanwhile the economic role of the Holy Spirit is introduced into the headlines, immediately after the statement of his personal divinity: "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, *the Giver of Life* . . . " It is because he is "heavenly king" that he can be "the treasury of all good gifts" for us. It is because we receive from his bounty that we are enabled to recognize his divine sovereignty: *Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, Παράκλητε . . . ὁ θησαυρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν.*[5] Our doxology springs from the divine economy and matches the divine being. That is why, as Saint Basil argued, it is appropriate to praise the Father through (διά) the Son in (ἐν) the Holy Spirit in *thanksgiving,* and to praise the Father with (μετά) the Son together with (σύν) the Holy Spirit in *contemplation.*[6]

My subject—the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church—obliges me to speak largely in economic terms. It was, therefore, important to state at the outset the ontological grounding and the ultimate doxological direction of all that I shall now say, soteriologically, about the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church.

The Constitution of the Church

Let us look, first of all, at the part played by the Holy Spirit in the very constitution of the Church. The Constantinopolitan Creed declares that the Holy Spirit "spoke by the prophets." It matters little for our purposes whether the reference is to the prophets of the Old Covenant or to the prophets of the New Covenant or to both.[7] According to the Apostle Paul, the letter by itself is deadly, but the Spirit makes alive (2 Cor. 3.6). According to the Evangelist John, the flesh on its own is of no avail, but the Spirit makes alive (Jn 6.63). These things are true even in the case of the Word incarnate. In Saint Luke's account, it is by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit that Mary conceives the Son of God, and the creed confesses that the Lord Jesus Christ was "made flesh from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary." Again at the baptism of Jesus, the Holy Spirit is seen to descend on him like a dove and, in johannine terms, to rest upon him. It is by the Spirit of the Lord that the Christ is anointed to preach the good news (Lk 4.18f). It is by the eternal Spirit that Christ offered himself to God as an unblemished sacrifice for our redemption (Heb. 9.11-14). When Jesus has been lifted up in glory, the Holy Spirit is then given to his followers (Jn 7.39; 19.30; 20.22). It is when "the Father's promise," "the power from on high," in short "the Holy Spirit" descends upon them that they are able to "tell the mighty works of God" (Acts 2.11), becoming witnesses to Jesus first in Jerusalem, and then in all Judea and Samaria, and finally to the ends of the earth (Acts 1.8; cf. Lk 24.45-49). And, to revert to the Fourth Gospel: it is the Spirit of truth who brings to remembrance all that Jesus has said (14.26), who takes the things of Christ and declares them (16.14). Thus, the New Testament makes it clear that the same Spirit who rested upon the incarnate Word also empowers the proclamation of the gospel concerning him and still vivifies the words of life which he brought.

The Holy Spirit, then, plays an active part in the original foundation and continuing establishment of the Church. His constitutive role, however, is not limited to the *offer* of the gospel in the proclamation of the Word: the Holy Spirit also enables the human *response*. As the apostle declares: "No one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 12.3). In opposition to Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism, Saint Augustine helped the Church to see that even the first motions towards faith were a divine work in us.[8] In the Western tradition, there are diverse views as to whether or how humans cooperate with God in the work of faith. Lutherans stress the entire passivity of the human believer; but my own Methodist tradition views the matter more synergistically, along with the dominant Roman tradition; and our sense of "active receptivity" is perhaps not too far removed from the Orthodox understanding.[9]

It is, of course, in baptism that the divine offer and the divinely-enabled human response comes to focal expression. The Constantinopolitan Creed confesses "one baptism for the forgiveness of sins." It was clear from apostolic times that the Holy Spirit and the forgiveness of sins belonged together. Saint Paul wrote: "You were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor 6.11). According to Acts, Peter had preached: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2.38). And the Fourth Evangelist made the link in his own way: the risen Lord breathed on the apostles and said to them, "Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained" (Jn 20.22f).[10]

The more serious your view of sin, the more important will you consider the forgiveness of sin as an expression of salvation. In the Byzantine liturgy, the invocation upon the baptismal font certainly presents this aspect:

> Thou didst sanctify the waves of Jordan, thou didst send down thy Holy Spirit from heaven and crush the heads of the serpents that lurked there. Therefore do thou, our loving king, be present now in the visitation of thy Holy Spirit and sanctify this water. . . . Do thou, maker of all things, declare this water to be a water of rest, water of redemption, water of sanctification, a cleansing of the pollution of body and soul, a loosen-

> ing of chains, forgiveness of sins, enlightenment of souls, washing of rebirth, grace of adoption, raiment of immortality, renewal of spirit, fount of life. . . .[11]

If forgiveness of sins has a negative sound in some ears, it will be noted that the list of benefits assumes a more positive note towards the end. And the same invocation later prays "that the baptized, guarding the gift of thy Holy Spirit and increasing the store of grace, may receive the gift of the high calling and be numbered among the first-born who are written in heaven." To this eschatologically oriented salvation we shall return in the final section of this address.

Meanwhile, most of what we have said so far concerning the Holy Spirit's part in the constitution of the Church through both divine gift and human acceptance may be summed up in a Methodist hymn from the pen of Charles Wesley:[12]

Spirit of faith, come down,
Reveal the things of God;
And make to us the Godhead known,
And witness with the blood.
'Tis Thine the blood to apply,
And give us eyes to see
Who did for every sinner die
Hath surely died for me.

No man can truly say
That Jesus is the Lord,
Unless Thou take the veil away,
And breathe the living word;
Then, only then, we feel
Our interest in His blood,
And cry, with joy unspeakable:
Thou art my Lord, my God!

Having spoken first of the constitution of the Church, we may now speak of its cult. Indeed, *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytos declares that the Church as liturgical assembly is the place "where the Spirit abounds."[13]

The Cult of the Church

I have already mentioned the Constantinopolitan Creed's confession of the Holy Spirit as a proper recipient of the Church's doxology: "With the Father and the Son together he is worshipped and glorified." Here I want to describe the role of the Holy Spirit in the economy of the liturgy. Just as the Father's gifts descend through Christ to us in the Holy Spirit, so our thanksgiving in the Holy Spirit mounts through Christ to the Father.

According to Ephesians 2.18, it is in the one Spirit that we have access through Christ to the Father. The Apostle Paul himself teaches that it is in the Holy Spirit that we are able, with and through Christ, to address God as "Abba" (Rom 8.15f; Gal 4.6). If our worship is the requital of God's love—"We love him who first loved us" (1 Jn 4)—then the most intimate role of the Holy Spirit in enabling our worship is clear, for "the love of God has been poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit which has been given to us" (Rom 5.5). God's love for us, made manifest by Christ's dying for us while we were yet sinners, now arouses our love for God from within. The Anglican liturgy begins with a beautiful prayer:

> Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy *Holy Spirit*, that we may *perfectly love thee* and *worthily magnify* thy holy name, through Christ our Lord. Amen.[14]

The eucharistic epiklesis in the Byzantine liturgy sharpens the christological focus: Without the sacrifice of Christ there is no Christian worship, and so God is prayed to send his Holy Spirit in order to make, or show, the bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ; and it is through our participation in these that we sacramentally receive the blessings of salvation.[15]

Thanks to the contribution of the Orthodox Churches and also, in part, of such Calvinist theologians as Jean-Jacques von Allmen and Max Thurian,[16] the World Council of Churches Faith and Order texts on the Eucharist are now making abundantly clear the entire dependence of the Church's worship on the Holy Spirit.[17] As a Methodist, I note from their *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (1745) that the Wesley brothers appreciated the need for a eucharistic epiklesis. One hymn reads:

> Come, Holy Ghost, Thine influence shed,
> And realize the sign;
> Thy life infuse into the bread,
> Thy power into the wine.

Effectual let the tokens prove
And made, by heavenly art,
Fit channels to convey Thy love
To every faithful heart.

And, borrowing an image from *The Apostolic Constitutions*, another hymn makes the following invocation:

Come, Thou everlasting Spirit,
Bring to every thankful mind
All the Saviour's dying merit,
All His sufferings for mankind.

True Recorder of His passion,
Now the living faith impart,
Now reveal His great salvation,
Preach His gospel to our heart.

Come, Thou Witness of His dying;
Come, Remembrancer divine,
Let us feel Thy power, applying
Christ to every soul, and mine.[18]

After the constitution and the cult of the Church, I want now to treat the character of the Church.

The Character of the Church

By this I mean those four marks of the Church confessed by the Constantinopolitan Creed: one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. In indicating how the Holy Spirit is the divine source of these ecclesial characteristics, I shall—for reasons of time and space—be even more schematic than before. Given the facts of Christian history, it is also inevitable that this will be the most controversial section of my address.

Unity.

In Ephesians 4, the appeal to the Church to maintain "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" is grounded in the fact that there is one body and one Spirit, just as there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father, one hope to which we are called. The Apostle Paul reminds the fractious Corinthians that "by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and all were made to drink of one Spirit"

(1 Cor 12.13). The varieties of gifts are inspired by one and the same Spirit, whose diverse manifestations are all intended for the common good (verses 4-11). The first chapter of that letter suggests that the divisions among the Corinthians are not so very different from what we would call "denominational": "I belong to Paul" ("I'm a Protestant"), "I belong to Cephas" ("I'm a Roman Catholic"), "I belong to Christ" ("I'm simply, well . . ."). Saint Paul's constant response is to show the sheer absurdity of division among Christians in light of the one crucified Lord, whose churchly body is animated by the one Spirit.

It would be hard to deny that the modern ecumenical movement was born of the Spirit. Yet it is important to be clear about the nature of the unity we seek. There is a liberal protestant exaltation of pluralism which seems to hold that the many become one by the effortless aggregation of separate units, regardless of the inconsistencies and contradictions which characterize them.[19] Granted a serious Christian concern for truth, however, there is no by-passing the hard work of doctrinal and institutional dialogue concerning the gospel and its historical embodiment. But if unity remains a gift of the Spirit, then we should also open ourselves in common prayer for His healing and restorative grace.

Holiness.

It might appear almost too obvious to mention that the Holy Spirit is the source of the Church's holiness. Saint Paul teaches that the body of the individual Christian "is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God" (1 Cor 6.19). Since individual Christian are members of the body of Christ (as verse 15 already declared), it is fairly natural to conclude from this passage that the Church as a whole, being the body of Christ, is indwelt by the Holy Spirit–and hence "holy." Yet problems arise.

Insofar as sins remain in individual Christians, Protestants, in particular, have found themselves obliged to admit that the Church as a community and an insitution is also disfigured by sin. But Catholics, and Orthodox even more strongly, have refused to speak of a sinful or even a sinning Church: How could the mother of holiness be thought to sin? Protestants, in turn, detect in such a position the erection of the Church as an artificial hypostasis in abstraction from the evident reality of the Christian community's historical existence. For my part, I should seek a solution along the lines of the *simul justus et peccator*. This, however, is not to be understood as an extreme and unremitting paradox—as though the believer, and the Church, remained totally in sin while having been made totally holy. Rather, the sanctification or divinization of the believer and the Church is to be conceived as a dynamic process in which the absurdity of sin is being overcome and a salutary eschatological transformation is taking place. Saints are being made.[20] The divine agent of holiness in the Christian and in the Church is precisely the Holy Spirit.[21]

Exposing myself to the charge of moralism, I should hold that becoming a partaker of the divine nature includes an inescapably ethical component, which requires also a cooperative effort from the human side. Thoughout the Pauline epistles, declarations of divinely bestowed change are followed by exhortations to think and behave accordingly. The indicative implies the imperative: "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit" (Gal 5.25).

Catholicity.

Here, by way of indication, I will simply mention a notion dear to my former teacher, Professor Nikos Nissiotis: "the qualitative meaning of catholicity."[22] Nissiotis distinguishes between "universal," which is merely a quantitative word (*κατὰ παντός*), and "catholic," which is also a qualitative word (*κατά* + *ὅλον*). The deepest meaning of catholicity, its inner heart, is the *fullness*, *πλήρωμα*, of God's saving act as it is achieved in Church and world. We remember the teaching of the Cappadocian Fathers, whereby the Trinitarian operations of God come to completion precisely *in the Holy Spirit*.[23]

Apostolicity.

Last to be listed among the characteristics of the Church is its apostolicity. The apostles, in fact, head the list of the official or ministerial charisms given to the Church: "And God has appointed in the Church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers . . . " (1 Cor 12.28). "And his gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers . . . " (Eph 4.11).

Next to Christ himself, the Church is built on the foundation of the apostles; and its faith is properly apostolic. As is well known, however, this has been and remains a controversial matter in Christian history. First, there is the problem among the episcopal churches, which all consider the successive generations of bishops to be the special guardians of the apostolic faith but which are not all in doctrinal agreement and living communion with one another. Second, there is the difference between the episcopal churches and the churches which do not claim to have bishops in personal succession from the apostles. These latter churches usually claim to be true to the faith of the apostolic Church and sometimes deny that title to the episcopal churches. The World Council of Churches Faith and Order text on Ministry seeks an irenical approach.[24] In speaking of "succession in the apostolic tradition," it distinguishes between "apostolic tradition in the Church" and "succession of the apostolic ministry." It calls upon the episcopal churches to recognize "apostolic content" even in bishopless churches; and, in turn, the churches without episcopal succession are summoned to "recover the sign of the episcopal succession" as a "profound expression" of "continuity with the Church of the apostles." At stake, of course, is the understanding of Christ's promise that the Holy Spirit would guide the Church into all the truth (Jn 16.13).

The four credal themes of the Church's unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity, are interwoven in the eschatological prayer of such a Wesleyan hymn as the following:

Head of Thy Church, whose Spirit fills
And flows through every faithful soul,
Unites in mystic love, and seals
Them one, and sanctifies the whole:

Come, Lord! Thy glorious Spirit cries,
And souls beneath the altar groan;
Come, Lord! The bride on earth replies,
And perfect all our souls in one.

Pour out the promised gift on all,
Answer the universal: Come!
The fulness of the Gentiles call,
And take Thine ancient people home.[25]

After the constitutuion of the Church, its cult and its characteristics, we now arrive at the fourth, final, and very brief part of this lecture: the consummation of the Church.

The Consummation of the Church

Saint Irenaios spoke of the Son and the Spirit as the two "hands" of God in creation.[26] The most direct scriptural support for this combination occurs in the verse of the Psalmist:

> "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made,
> and all their host by the breath of his mouth" (33.6).

In the Old Testament, the work of God's Spirit in creation is characteristically prolonged into re-creation. The Psalmist says:

> "When thou sendest forth thy Spirit,
> [thy works] are created;
> and thou renewest the face of the earth" (104.30).

When, in Ezekiel's vision, the Lord breathes his Spirit into the dry bones, dead Israel is recreated after the manner of Adam's first creation (Ez 37; Gen 2.7). The theme of new creation characterizes the work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament: believers are born again of water and the Spirit (Jn 3.5), they undergo "the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit" (Tit 3.5).

In this perspective of recreation, it becomes appropriate to treat pneumatologically also the last two clauses of the Constantinopolitan creed: "We look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."

We have Pauline authority for attributing the work of resurrection to the Holy Spirit. The apostle writes in Romans 8.11: "If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you." Sealed by the Spirit for the day of redemption (Eph 4.30), Christians have already received the Holy Spirit as the "first installment" (*ἀρραβών*) of their inheritance (2 Cor 1.22; Eph 1.13f). And it is the Spirit who is even now changing them from glory into glory (2 Cor 3.18).

The life of the world to come may also be spoken of in pneumatological terms. According to Saint Paul, the kingdom of God is justice and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom 14.17). To concentrate only on the joy: the Church at Ephesos was counselled not to get drunk with wine but to be filled with the Spirit, always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father (Eph 5.18-20). Christ filled the eucharistic cup, say some Eastern rites, with Holy Spirit;[27] and eucharistic communion brings that "sober inebriation" in which the enjoyment of God consists.[28]

But we are not quite there yet. According to Romans 8.18-27, the Spirit-inspired groanings of our prayers join the groanings of the whole creation as it waits eagerly for the revealing of the sons of God.[29] "We ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies"–and then "the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God." In that hope, we may properly conclude with Charles Wesley's invocation to the divine Love:[30]

> Finish then Thy new creation,
> Pure and spotless let us be;
> Let us see Thy great salvation,
> Perfectly restored in Thee;
> Changed from glory into glory,
> Till in heaven we take our place,
> Till we cast our crowns before Thee,
> Lost in wonder, love, and praise.[31]

NOTES

1. In the earliest evidence for creeds, there is some tension between threefoldness and fivefoldness, although the ecclesiological and eschatological references usually find themselves integrated in one way or another into the pneumatological third article. Explaining the five loaves of the feeding miracle, the second-century *Epistula Apostolorum* states that Christian belief is in the Father, in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church, and in the forgiveness of sins. The third baptismal question in the Latin version of *The Apostolic Tradition* reads "Credis in Spiritu sancto et sanctam ecclesiam et carnis resurrectionem?" Cyprian testifies to the baptismal interrogation "Do you believe in remission of sins and life eternal through the holy Church?" (*Epistle* 69.7; CSEL p. 756). The creed in the Der Balyzeh papyrus should be similarly construed: "and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the flesh in the holy catholic Church." Note, finally, P. Nautin, *Je crois à l'Esprit saint dans la sainte Eglise pour la résurrection de la chair* (Paris, 1947). On the whole question of the early structures and forms, see the opening chapters of J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 5th ed. (London, 1977).

2. For the equivalence of Western *sanctificatio* and Eastern *theosis*, see J. Meyendorff and J. McLelland (eds.), *The New Man: An Orthodox Reformed Dialogue* (New Jersey, 1973), especially the chapters by J. W. Beardslee III and R. G. Stephanopoulos.

3. See, for instance, the *Letters* of St. Athanasios to Serapion, against the Tropici; and the treatise of St. Basil *On the Holy Spirit*, against the Macedonians.

4. Karl Rahner speaks of the "axiomatic unity of the 'economic' and 'immanent' Trinity": "The 'economic' Trinity is the 'immanent' Trinity and the 'immanent' Trinity is the 'economic' Trinity" (in *The Trinity*, New York, 1970). English translation of "Der dreifaltige Gott als transzendenter Urgrund der Heilsgeschichte" from *Mysterium Salutis*, vol. 2 (Einsiedeln, 1967).

5. Pentecost hymn from the Byzantine liturgy.

6. St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit*, especially paragraphs 16, 63, and 68.

7. For New Testament prophets see Acts 11.27; 13.11; 15.32; Rom 12.6; 1 Cor 11-14; Eph 3.5; 4.11. But also 1 Pet 1.10-12.

8. See, for instance, Augustine's *De dono perseverantiae* 23.63-65 (PL 45. 1031-33) and his *Epistle* 217 (PL 33, 978-89), where appeal is made to the *lex orandi* fact of the Church's prayer for the conversion of unbelievers.

9. See A.C. Outler, *John Wesley* (New York, 1964), pp. 9f, 14.

10. Something is said about the sacrament of penance in note 21.

11. English translation from E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (London, 1970) p. 80f.

12. Quoted from *The Methodist Hymn Book* (London, 1933) no. 363.

13. Chapter 31, 2 in the edition by G. Dix and H. Chadwick (London, 1968) p. 58 ("ad ecclesiam ubi floret Spiritus").

14. *The Book of Common Prayer*, "collect for purity."

15. Thus, for instance, the anaphora of St. John Chrysostom: "We offer you also this reasonable and bloodless service, and we beseech and pray and entreat you, send down your Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts set forth; and make this bread the precious body of your Christ, and that which is in the cup the precious blood of your Christ, changing them by your Holy Spirit; so that they may become to those who partake for vigilance of soul, for forgiveness of sins, for fellowship of your Holy Spirit, for the fulness of the kingdom of heaven, for boldness towards you, not for judgment or condemnation."

16. Note especially J.J. von Allmen, "Le Saint-Esprit et le culte" in *Prophétisme sacramentel* (Neuchâtel, 1964) pp. 287-311.

17. The Faith and Order texts on *One Baptism, One Eucharist, and a Mutually Recognized Ministry* were sent by the Nairobi Assembly in 1975 to the churches for study and response, and revised versions are being prepared for the 1983 Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver.

18. The text of the *Hymns on the Lord's Supper,* together with a study of them, is found in J. E. Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (London, 1942). The two hymns quoted are numbers 72 and 16, which are respectively numbers 767 and 765 in *The Methodist Hymn Book*. The prayer from *Apostolic Constitutions* 7 reads as follows: And we beseech you . . . to send down your Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that he may make this bread body of your Christ, and this cup blood of your Christ; that those who partake may be strengthened to piety, obtain forgiveness of sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceit, be filled with the Holy Spirit, become worthy of your Christ, and obtain eternal life, after reconciliation with you, almighty Lord."

19. For penetrating observations of American Protestant ecumenism, based on his visits to the U.S.A. in the 1930s, see already D. Bonhoeffer, *No Rusty Swords: Letters, Lectures and Notes 1928-1936* (New York, 1965) pp. 86-118.

20. In a fuller paper, this would be the place at which to talk about the holiness brought to the Church by its heavenly members. For a positive Protestant view of the communion of the saints, see my *Doxology* (New York, 1980) pp. 109-12 and 444-62.

21. Excommunication is the recognition that the Holy Spirit has departed from a sinner. Penance is the sacramental sign of the Spirit's return and of the person's restoration to the fellowship of the Church.

22. N. A. Nissiotis, "Die qualitative Bedeutung der Katholizität" in *Die Theologie der Ostkirche im oekumenischen Dialog* (Stuttgart, 1968) pp. 86-104.

23. For Cappadocian teaching on the Trinity, see in summary J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5th ed. (London, 1977) pp. 258-69.

24. See note 17 or the reference to the text on *A Mutually Recognized Ministry*. I quote from the near-defective revision of 1981.

25. *Methodist Hymn Book*, no. 814. There is no need to take Wesley's phraseology in a filioquist sense. For evidence of recent ecumenical progress on the *filioque* question, see the W.C.C. Faith and Order study, *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* (Geneva, 1981).

26. Irenaios, *Against Heresies* 5.1.3; 5.5.1; 5.6.1; *Dem.* 11.

27. So in the Greek *St. James* and in the Alexandrian *St. Mark.*

28. For the *sobria ebrietas*, see for example St. Ambrose, *de sacramentis* 5.3.17; and the treatment by P. Lebeau, *Le vin nouveau du Royaume* (Bruges, 1966). The *Westminster Shorter Catechism* of 1647-48 declared that man's chief end is "to glorify God, and to *enjoy* him for ever."

29. See E. Käsemann, "Der gottesdienstliche Schrei nach Freiheit" in *Paulinische Perspektiven* (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 211-36.

30. *Methodist Hymn Book*, no. 431: "Love divine, all loves excelling."

31. For a more developed treatment of our principal theme by an Orthodox author, and at about the same level of technicality as my main text, see T. Hopko, *The Spirit of God* (Wilton, N.Y., 1976).

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GERARD H. ETTLINGER, S. J.

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE THEOLOGY OF THE SECOND ECUMENICAL SYNOD AND IN THE UNDIVIDED CHURCH

In undertaking a discussion of the Holy Spirit in the theology of the Second Ecumenical Synod *and* in the undivided Church, one initially must come to grips with two problems which, in the final analysis, highlight the significance of the synod for the theology and life of the Church—even today.[1]

The first question arises when one seeks to isolate the theology of the Second Synod—where is it to be found? Our knowledge of the conciliar discussions is all but nonexistent, and most modern scholars question the authenticity of the creed which was first identified with that council in the acts of the Synod of Chalkedon in 451.[2] We shall discuss this question in a moment, and shall conclude that the creed, despite the objections raised, remains the primary direct source of the synod's thought and theology of the Holy Spirit. At the same time, beyond and behind the creed lies the thought expressed in the extra-conciliar writings of the bishops (traditionally 150) who *were* the council; this is a source which, though indirect, is undoubtedly significant, for most of the great leaders of the Eastern Church of the day were present. One could mention, for example, Cyril of Jerusalem, Diodoros of Tarsus, Meletios of Antioch and his successor Flavian, and, of utmost importance for Trinitarian theology, Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa; the presence of the two Gregories ensured the influence of the thought of Basil the Great, who had died some two years previous to the synod. I should like, then, to comment first on the creed as a source of the council's thought and theology.

Perhaps the major argument against the ascription of a new creed to this council is the reluctance of the post-Nicene church to alter the creed of the Synod of Nikaia in any respect whatsoever. Moreover, as already noted, no creed was attributed to this council until the Synod of Chalkedon some seventy years later; finally, the creed in question can be linked with the Church of Jerusalem and with Epiphanios of Salamis.[3]

In responding to these difficulties, one cannot deny the reverence which the early church felt for the Creed of Nikaia. At the same time, it is enlightening to read the following excerpt from a letter to Epiphanios, written about 377, by Basil, a dedicated guardian of tradition:

> . . . it is impossible for me to make even the slightest addition to the Nicene Creed, except for the ascription of glory to the Holy Spirit, because our Fathers treated this point cursorily, no question having at that time arisen concerning the Spirit . . . (Epist. 258.2).

The state of the question during the period following Nikaia is reflected in a quote by the historian Socrates of Eustathios of Sebaste, a leading figure in the party opposed to the Spirit's divinity: "For my part, I neither choose to name the Holy Spirit God, nor should presume to call him a creature (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.45)." Even Basil shared this reluctance to proclaim unequivocally the Spirit's divinity; this was noted, with approval, by Gregory the Theologian in his panegyric on Basil (*Orat.* 43.68), despite the fact that he had criticized, and angered Basil for the same attitude in a personal letter some years earlier (*Epist.* 58). Gregory himself, in 380, while eulogizing Athanasios, who had died the year before, reflects the same mentality when he says that Athanasios was the first to affirm the doctrine of the Trinity clearly,

> when all the rest who sympathized with us were divided into three parties, and many were faltering in their conception of the Son, and still more in that of the Holy Spirit, a point on which to be only slightly in error was to be orthodox . . . (Orat. 21.33).

Here is the key to the question of the relationship between the Creed of Nikaia and that of Constantinople. The central issue at Nikaia was, of course, Arianism and the divinity of God's Word. The theology of the Spirit never had received as much attention as that of the Word, even before Nikaia, and the continued struggle against Arianism long after Nikaia delayed the development of the theology of the Spirit further. As a result, the question of the Spirit's divinity came into focus only gradually, and Basil's statement in 377 (cited above) therefore become significant, for it indicates that the time had apparently become ripe for a clear and unambiguous statement of the church's faith in the Holy Spirit.

The Creed of Nikaia had professed a faith, which it detailed briefly, in "one God" and "one Lord Jesus Christ." The creed had ended simply with the words: "And in the Holy Spirit" (*καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*). Gregory the Theologian seemingly felt that even this brief phrase taught the Spirit's divinity, for, in his fifth theological oration, *On the Holy Spirit*, delivered between 379-381, he said:

> Now, if he is a creature, how do we believe in him, how are we made perfect in him? For it is not the same thing to believe *in* a thing and to believe *about* it. The one belongs to Deity, the other to any thing (*Orat*. 31.6).

And yet, by 381, as we have seen, the situation demanded a more precise statement, and the Synod of Constantinople was to provide it.

Despite the contrary arguments mentioned earlier, these historical realities lead us to conclude that it is reasonable to assume, with a number of modern scholars,[4] that the creed associated to our day with the Second Ecumenical Synod does, indeed, express the faith of the Orthodox leaders who were the synod, whatever the origin of that creed may have been. It is not, accordingly, a new creed composed to replace that of Nikaia. Still less does it represent an attempt to alter the faith which the Creed of Nikaia embodied. Whether the bishops assembled at Constantinople composed this creed themselves, or whether it was already in use and they merely adopted it, it is an expression of their faith in the Holy Spirit—the Orthodox faith—in full harmony with Nikaia; but the creed also develops and attempts to treat material not handled at Nikaia, along the lines indicated by Basil in the statement cited above.

The second major area of concern enunciated at the outset of this paper flows from the phrase "the undivided Church." As the Body of Christ, the Church was and always will be one and undivided, and the Holy Spirit is the root and safeguard of that unity. Since the year 381 divisions have, of course, occurred in the church as it lives out its existence in this imperfect world. We could refer simply to the aftermath of the Synod of Chalkedon, and to situations which have arisen in both East and West over the course of the last 1000 years. But the atmosphere prior to 381 was, if examined carefully, not at all dissimilar. There was, for example, the continued pressure from Arianism which we have already mentioned; this had religious (or theological) dimensions which had become largely stabilized by the mid-370s. The political aspect of this pressure was relieved through the attitude of the emperor Theodosios I. But there was still dissension even after the advent of Theodosios, and the sermons of Chrysostom, for example, voice concern about the Arian threat, which received new vigor as a result of the barbarian invasions. In another area, Apollinarios was raising troublesome questions regarding the nature of Christ, while the episcopal problem in Antioch had been a source of great anxiety and deep division. The church in the West was not immune to such problems; thus the Donatist affair split the church in northern Africa, while its underlying mentality caused difficulties in places as geographically disparate as Spain and Rome. The final source of division to be noted is, of course, the one under discussion here: the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The Macedonians (the followers of the heretical bishop Makedonios) and the Pneumatomachi, or Spirit-fighters, were a cause for concern to all the Orthodox.

The Church—the Body of Christ—was then undivided, but it is not unrealistic or harsh to say that its human members were hard pressed to preserve that unity in their lives. In light of these problems the invitation to the Second Synod of a group of 36 "Macedonian" bishops takes on even greater significance as an act designed to foster peace and unity. The importance of the synod's work is also underscored, for it sought to enhance the church's unity by clarifying its faith in the Holy Spirit—the Spirit so intimately connected with that unity. Finally, we might note that the problems of division which faced the Church in 381 speak also to the Church today; some of the 'old' issues are still cause for concern, while many new ones have arisen. But the struggle for peace and unity continues, and it is only the human members of Christ's body, the Church, who can bring it to a successful resolution.

Let us now turn to the synod's theology of the Holy Spirit, which is best expressed, as noted earlier, in the words of the creed attributed to it. The pertinent passage reads: [5]

And in the Holy Spirit,
the Lord and life-giver
who proceeds from the Father,
who with the Father and the Son
is together worshipped
and together glorified,
who spoke through the prophets.

The Fathers often have been accused of Hellenizing the Gospel, and thus of disseminating the thought more of a Plato or a Plotinos than of Jesus. Here is a statement, however, which is based on the Scriptures (the foundational revelation of the Church) and on prayer and worship (the daily functions of the living Church). The appeal is not to scholars or theologians, although scholars and theologians are responsible for the synod's teaching; the basis of this creed is the living Church, that is, the people of God living its faith in response to Christ's revelation.

Credal formulations are, of course, concise and clear by nature, but they often contain language which is abstract and more consciously theological and/or philsophical; it is therefore significant to note that this statement about the Holy Spirit is different. It appears to reflect an attitude expressed by one of the synod's participants, Cyril of Jerusalem, when he spoke elsewhere about teaching true doctrine concerning the Spirit:[6]

> Therefore let us say about the Spirit exactly what Scripture says and nothing else, and do not let us pry where Scripture does not answer. The Scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit himself, and what he said about himself is exactly what he pleased, or what we could comprehend. So, let what he spoke be said, which is to say, let us not dare to utter anything that he did not (*Cat. lect.* 16.2).

An analysis of this credal statement should begin by situating it within the creed of which it is a part, and wherein it is the third article of faith. The creed begins, of course, with the words "We believe." The objects of belief, in the most fundamental outline form, are:

"In one God Father"
"And in one Lord Jesus Christ"
"And in the Holy Spirit"

The most obvious theological datum contained in these words is the distinction of the three persons within the unity of the one divine nature; in other words, there are three "persons," but there is only one God. This basic statement of trinitarian theology could not simply be taken for granted, since, apart from Arian problems relating to the Word, there was confusion among Christians as to the exact nature of the Holy Spirit, even in the earliest period following the writing of the latest New Testament literature. The existence, and most probably the divinity of Christ's Spirit were, in some manner, taken for granted, since prayer and the baptismal liturgy indicated this, as did the Scriptures themselves. But the precise nature of each of the three persons and of their interrelationships was not well developed in the early period; this was especially true of the Spirit, and, as a result, the Spirit was referred at times to the Father and at other times to the Son, while in certain early writings the Spirit may even be identified with the Son; the Shepherd of Hermas would be an example of the latter confusion. Irenaios expresses the Orthodox theology of the Trinity in quasi-poetic fashion when he refers to the Son and the Spirit as the Father's "hands" (*Adv. Haer.* 4, praef., 3). Origen derives the Spirit through the Son in a way that is congruent with his own thought, but unorthodox by later standards (See *Comm.* on John 2.10-12).[7] Truly, theological discourse on the Spirit's nature began about 359-360, with Athanasios' defense of the Spirit's divinity in his letters to Serapion of Thmuis. The Cappadocians developed and conceptualized trinitarian theology for the Eastern Church, while Augustine later did the same for the West.

The history of theology in the first Christian centuries shows, therefore, that there was hesitation and confusion with respect to the Holy Spirit; a reason for this state of affairs is offered by Gregory the Theologian in the fifth theological oration already cited above:

> . . . here (i.e., in 'theology' or the doctrine of God) perfection is reached by additions. . . . The Old Testament proclaimed the Father openly, and the Son more obscurely. The New manifested the Son, and suggested the Deity of the Spirit. Now the Spirit Himself dwells among us, and supplies us with a clearer demonstration of Himself. For it was not safe, when the Godhead of the Father was not yet acknowledged, plainly to proclaim the Son; nor when that of the Son was not yet received to burden us further (if I may use so bold an expression) with the Holy Spirit . . . (*Orat.* 31.26).

The Creed of Constantinople (following that of Nikaia) leaves no ambiguity as to the distinction of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit; the repetition of "and" is a definite sign of this intent. At the same time, the divinity of the Holy Spirit–the major point at issue–is plainly and repeatedly enunciated, as we shall now indicate.

The title "Lord" derives from the Old Testament, where it is used of Yahweh; in the New Testament, Jesus, the risen and glorified Christ of faith, is also called "Lord." This title obviously de-notes divinity in the Scriptures, and it is here applied to the Spirit. He shares this title with the Father and the Son, and is, therefore, divine as they are divine.

Life, either through creation or resurrection from the dead, is viewed in the Scriptures as a gift from God and a mark of divine power, and therefore of divinity. The Spirit who is "Lord" is also the "life-giver." The adjective *ζωοποιόν* ("life-giver") is not used in the New Testament, but the verb *ζωοποιεῖν* is predicated there of all three persons of the Trinity; it is applied to the Father and the Son in the context of resurrection from the dead, and is predicated four times of the Spirit, who is seen as the one who bestows Christ's new life on believers (Jn 6.63; 1 Cor 15.45; 2 Cor 3.6; 1 Pet 3.18). In the Old Testament the verb is employed of humans as well as of God, with the meaning "save the life of." In the New Testament context implied by the creed, then, the giving of life indicates divinity, for the Spirit bestows on Christians a share in the divine life of Christ within the church.

The words "who proceeds from the Father" are based on John 15.26, although John utilizes a different word (*παρά* instead of *ἐκ*) to express the idea of "from" (*ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται*). The procession in question here is not, of course, synonymous with the theological concept developed by the Cappadocians. It is rather a statement based directly on the revelation given by Christ; the theological notion is itself grounded in scriptural data and was undoubtedly in the minds of the leaders of the synod. In any event, this is an explicit expression of the Spirit's divine origin in the Godhead of the Father, and is, therefore, an affirmation of the Spirit's divinity.

The next clause is based on the Church's worship and prayer life; the synod Fathers do not see faith as a sheer act of intellect or will, divorced from the actual life of the Church. The fact that the Spirit is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son is sufficient to guarantee the Spirit's divinity. The controversial word *ὁμοούσιον* is not employed, but its sense is definitely implied. Common worship and glory presuppose a common divine nature which is the object of such glory and worship; finally, the unity of the Spirit with the Father and Son is underscored by the triple repetition of the word "with" (*σύν*). This stress on the word "with" echoes Basil's thought, for, in his treatise *On the Spirit*, he attempts to refute those who criticize his usage in the doxology of the words "with the Holy Spirit" in a way that is pertinent here.

Basil argues that, while the Scriptures use only "in,' or "by," the use of "with" also can be justified, for it has an identical meaning:

> As we find both expressions in use among the faithful, we use both, in the belief that full glory is equally given to the Spirit by both. . . . The Lord says "The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Mt 28.19). If I say the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit shall I make any difference in the sense (25.59)?

Note that the scriptural basis of the practice is crucial for Basil, and that he grounds his interpretation of the Scripture on "use among the faithful."

The final words of this article of the creed ("who spoke through the prophets") link the Holy Spirit with the Old Testament, showing that the origin of the Spirit's existence was not contemporaneous with, or subsequent to the Son's appearance in this world. In addition, the phrase may be intended to clarify a point which caused some confusion among certain early Christian authors, who felt that, since Scripture was the Word of God, it was the second person of the Trinity, the Word, who spoke through the prophets and inspired the Old Testament. The identification of the Spirit as the one who spoke in both the Old and New Testaments is a commonplace during the years surrounding the Second Ecumenical Synod. The words of Cyril of Jerusalem, taken from the catechetical lecture cited above, will serve as an illustration:[8]

> There is only one Holy Spirit the Paraclete. . . . He was in the prophets, and under the new covenant he was in the apostles. Such as dare to break in two the work of the Holy Spirit are to be abhorred. There is one God the Father, Lord of the old covenant and of the new. And there is one Lord Jesus Christ, prophesied in the old covenant and present in the new. And there is one Holy Spirit, who proclaimed the things of Christ by the prophets, and then when Christ came, came down himself to make him known (*Cat. lect.* 16.3).

The Spirit who is eternal with the Father and the Son, and who reveals Christ through the prophets and apostles, is divine, as are the Father and the Son.

As expressed in the creed, then, the second synod's theology of the Holy Spirit reflects living faith based directly on Christ's revelation, and confirmed by the life of the living Church. The complex theology of the Cappadocians undoubtedly stands behind this expression, but the synod is content with a statement that is couched in non-philosophical language. A comment on the reasons (or at least the possible reasons) for such a procedure will constitute the final element in this study.

It should be remarked immediately that the council's procedure is not to be construed as an outright rejection of what today would be called dogmatic or speculative theology. All the synod's leaders enumerated above were involved so deeply in such activity that it seems most unlikely that they would have rejected their own life's work at this critical moment in the Church's history. The fifty years following Nikaia had shown that seemingly simple and direct statements did not always resolve the problems to which they were addressed; the question "What does this statement mean?" easily could, and did open the way for a clash of opinion. In other words, a process of theological explanation was, and is required to clarify statements which were thought to have been obvious at the time of their original formulation.

At the same time, however, the theological process itself was capable of creating problems: the use of *ὁμοούσιον* is a classical example, for the word seemed to explain, clearly and distinctly, scriptural data which were presumably unclear or in need of further interpretation. The ensuing battle about the word proved, however, that this expectation was illusory, and that more thought was required.

The leaders of the Synod of Constantinople did not agree with one another on every issue, and controversy was no stranger to the synod itself: the 36 "Macedonian" bishops left the meeting in protest; Gregory the Theologian was forced to resign as president of the synod and as Bishop of Constantinople; the dispute over the see of Antioch was not resolved, and the presence of both factions at the synod was an obvious source of added tension; finally, the insertion of Constantinople between Rome and Alexandria in the line of ecclesiastical dignity occasioned outrage in Alexandria and probably unhappiness in Rome. But the synod's theology of the Spirit led to no further factional disputes; perhaps its leaders had learned a lesson from the aftermath of Nikaia, for they expressed a faith which, as we have seen, was firmly grounded in revelation, and stated in terms drawn from Scripture and the living activity of the Church, rather than from a specific theology or philosophy. It was, as developments proved, essentially non-controversial. Thus, although the synod produced certain unwholesome repercussions in the political life of the Church, it is conspicuous among the first four ecumenical synods as the only one not immediately followed by renewed theological dissension and division.

Perhaps the Holy Spirit, whose divinity the second synod enunciated, was truly close to the synod's leaders, teaching them the lesson we have just described. It is to be hoped that the same Spirit is active in the same way today—especially among those who recall and honor that synod.

NOTES

1. Since this paper was written for oral presentation, references have been held to a minimum. Unless noted otherwise, quotations of patristic texts have been taken, with minor adaptations, from volumes of *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.*

2. For a survey of opinion on this question see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950) pp. 296-331.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. The English text is taken from Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 298. The Greek text reads as follows: *Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριων καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.*

6. M. Wiles and M. Santer, *Documents in Early Christian Thought* (New York, 1977) p. 81.

7. Ibid., pp. 77ff.

8. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

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The Message of the Bible: An Orthodox Christian Perspective. By George Cronk. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982. Pp. 293. Paper.

This is a carefully crafted interpretive survey of the entire Bible intended especially for Orthodox Christians. The author, identified in the back cover as an active member of the Holy Resurrection Church in Wayne, N.J., and Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Religion at Bergen Community College in Paramus, N.J., strives to combine, on the one hand, the central teachings of the Orthodox Church regarding the content of the Bible and, on the other, the results of mainstream biblical criticism during the last two centuries. In a candid fashion he states that this "is not a work of original scholarship . . . My major purpose throughout has been to "translate" and summarize the work of the scholars and theologians for the benefit of non-expert readers and students of Holy Scripture" (p. 9). His concentration is on "a coherent survey of the central themes of the Holy Bible," an Orthodox outline of "the general message of God's scriptural revelation" (p. 15), which views the Scriptures in their totality.

The first chapter discusses the place of the Bible in the Orthodox Church, the biblical Canon, the inspiration of the Bible, and scriptural interpretation within holy tradition. While "the Bible is a verbal icon of God himself" (p. 13) and "a major expression of the holy tradition of the Orthodox Church" (p. 14), it is not always to be interpreted literally and may contain "some minor errors of fact" (p. 22). Of absolute importance is its overall message of salvation which is without error (p. 22) and the reader's development of a "scriptural mind" according to G. Florovsky's phrase (p. 15). The next three chapters deal selectively with the content of the Old Testament under the themes of 'Creation and Fall,' 'Old Testament History,' and 'Wisdom and Prophecy.' The focus is on a theological accents as well as insights of modern biblical scholarship. Thus Genesis chapters 1 - 11 represent not a scientific account of creation or the history of humanity but rather the legendary folk-moral message of Old Testament wisdom, according to Orthodox theological accents as well as insights of modern biblical scholarship. Thus Genesis chapter 1-11 represent not a scientific account of creation or the history of humanity but rather the legendary folk-lore of ancient Israel (p. 48) bearing a crucial theological message: "that God *is*, that God *lives*, and that God *acts* (p. 77) in creation, history, and personal dealings with human beings.

The New Testament is treated in five chapters dealing with the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of Saint John, the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Book of Revelation. The methodology and approach is the same as in the above treatment of the Old Testament. For example, while matters of Synoptic source criticism are discussed (pp. 126-28), the accent falls on the great moments of the life and ministry of Jesus such as His birth, baptism, transfiguration, trial, death, and resurrection, a thematic accent which is understandably even more pronounced in the chapters dealing with the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline Epistles. The Catholic Epistles are all treated in their origins and basic themes in very brief sub-sections along traditional and conservative scholarly lines. The Book of Revelation is properly interpreted not as a rigid coded prophecy of distant future events but a highly symbolic book bearing powerful spiritual themes such as the glorified Christ's concern for His Church, God's judgment, and the coming Kingdom. The book closes with an Epilogue summarizing the message of the Bible and an appendix evaluating major English versions and translations of the Bible.

Keeping its purposes in view, this book is a significant contribution to Orthodox Christian catechesis. It will be especially helpful to priests, Bible Study leaders and other students of the Bible who desire to grasp the landscape of the Bible highlighted by Orthodox theological and spiritual concerns. One could of course debate many details and minor points with the author. For example, it is doubtful that in a patristic spirit we could say that the Old Testament Law "challenges us to face up to our desperate situation" (p. 82), an interpretive echo of Protestant theology, because the Church Fathers viewed the Law primarily as a historical dispensation for the Jews and not directly applicable to Christians. Similarly, to say that "it was through the mission of Saint Paul that Christianity, originally a small Jewish sect, became a world religion" (p. 198), is also to echo a now dated Protestant scholarly view of Saint Paul as an all-important maverick missionary. The most serious negative note is finally the characterization of the New English Bible, the Jerusalem Bible, and the New American Bible, all hailed as very good and in some cases excellent translations by New Testament scholars, as "less than accurate" (p. 276). Apart from such minor points, however, this book may be highly recommended to non-expert readers as a rare and very good one-volume Orthodox survey of the Bible.

Theodore Stylianopoulos

I. Thessalonians: A Commentary. By Paul Nadim Tarazi. Orthodox Biblical Studies. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982. Pp. 190. Paper.

Orthodox Christians and others will welcome this first volume of a new series by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press. Although numerous works by Orthodox theologians have become available in English in our generation, studies in Holy Scripture, and especially commentaries, have been rare or non-existent. That Father Paul Nadim Tarazi, Assistant Professor of Old Testament at St. Vladimir's Seminary, has given us the first Orthodox commentary in English on what is probably the first of the New Testament books to be committed to writing is, therefore, no small cause for celebration.

Following the author's Preface (pp. 9-12), this commentary begins with a brief Introduction (pp. 13-20) in which the author discusses Saint Paul's coworkers (Silvanus and Timothy), the circumstances of his stay in Thessalonike, as well as the place and date of the composition of 1 Thessalonians. Then follows the main body of the work (pp. 21-176) arranged in five sections according to the five chapters of the Epistle. The format is a verse by verse exegesis featuring the Greek text in large bold type, the English translation according to the RSV often modified by the author, and three levels of commentary signified by three different sizes of print in order to accommodate the interests and competence of various readers. The commentary includes five brief appendices on the Septuagint and the terms *Κύριος*, *Χριστός*, *Σατανᾶς*, and *Παρουσία* (pp. 177-82) and also several reference and subject indices (pp. 183-90).

Aside from the significance of its sheer appearance as an Orthodox commentary, this work is characterized by two distinguished aspects. The first is the author's challenging personal perspective which to some may appear somewhat improperly bold. Father Tarazi by way of an intimate Preface seems to say that his work is the result of a personal 'vision' rather than of an academic 'pro-

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JOHN ROSSER

THE ROLE OF FORTIFICATIONS IN THE DEFENSE OF ASIA MINOR AGAINST THE ARABS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

Between the last great Arab siege of Constantinople in 717-718 and the Byzantine offensive of the tenth century lies the struggle for Asia Minor, that "monotonous warfare" as J.B. Bury once termed it.[1] The period is framed, as it were, by the role of great fortifications: those of the capital and the fortress centers of the tenth century *μικρά θέματα*.[2] That fortifications played an important role in the defense of Asia Minor during the eighth and ninth centuries is obvious. After all the chief events of that defense were the capture and recapture of fortresses in the Taurus and Antitaurus highlands.[3] What is not yet clear, however, is the relationship of fortifications to other elements of the Byzantine defense, e.g. advantageous geography, road systems, thematic armies and the resettlement of foreign peoples.

It is difficult to write about fortifications without taking a comprehensive approach, one that makes use of available archaeological evidence and that demonstrates a sound knowledge of the Arabic sources. A most recent synthesis by Ralph-Johannes Lilie,[4] however, is seriously flawed in both respects.[5] Moreover, Lilie's conception of the role of fortifications betrays an unjustified confidence.[6] Until systematic attention of the sort already devoted to the role of thematic armies is directed toward the use of fortifications, scholars will mostly continue to repeat the obvious (e.g. that fortifications were used as places of refuge, were the frequent goal of Arab raids, etc.). However, the obvious frequently begs the question. Did fortresses, for example, "control" the great military routes?[7] First of all, what does the term mean in relation to the Byzantine response to Arab raids, as described in historical sources?[8] Do we even know as much about the Byzantine road system as we need to know?[9] It is our present ignorance of Byzantine fortifications which needs emphasis and clarification. Then systematic study is required and only after that can some overall synthesis of the role of fortifications in relation to other elements of the Byzantine defense be attempted.

Even fresh reappraisals of fortifications previously studied can yield surprising results. A recent study by Byron Tsangadas, for example, demonstrates how little we know of fortress Constantinople in time of siege.[10] The urban *κάστρα* that post-date the devastating Persian raids in Asia Minor have long been known but have now taken on new meaning since the investigations of Clive Foss.[11] However, what remains to be done, especially in terms of archaeological reconnaissance, is staggering. How can we begin to reconstruct the role of fortifications in Byzantine defensive strategy when the numbers, types, distribution and even identities of extant fortifications are still mostly unknown to us? The large fortified urban centers are of course known. However, what about fortresses like Yilankalesi? Yilankalesi is a fortress of impressive dimensions in southern Lydia. It may date from the seventh through the ninth centuries. What is of importance to us, however, is that here is a major fortification known to scholars since at least the nineteenth century but one not visited by an archaeologist or an historian until Clive Foss did so in 1970.[12]

More archaeological reconnaissance is needed, along with a photographic corpus of dated brick and stonework to facilitate dating. Also needed is a greater appreciation of the larger issues involved in the construction of fortifications. To be sure we need to know what kinds of sites were chosen, how extensive were the defenses required for particular kinds of sites, and what provisions were taken to insure communications and water supply. Yet the phenomenon of fortress warfare, which is what we are dealing with, is not explicable in purely technical terms but reflects important strategic, even economic considerations.[13] For this reason the study of fortifications should not be left to art historians, who have largely neglected fortifications anyway,[14] not even to archaeologists, both of whom are more often than not "preoccupied with mere descriptions, affinities and styles."[15] Rather it is best left to historians to determine why certain kinds of sites were chosen and what functions fortifications served. To quote R. Allen Brown again on this matter, ". . . it ought to be self-evident that architecture cannot or should not be separated from the society which produces it and whose needs and aspirations it embodies.[16] Ultimately a Byzantinist might someday write a book like F.E. Winter's *Greek Fortifications,*[17] or R. Allen Brown's *English Castles*, both of which deal with fortifications from this larger historical perspective.

Besides archaeological reconnaissance, more thorough and systematic investigation of the historical sources is also necessary. Among the questions that deserve such study are these: to what extent were important fortifications kept in good repair,[18] what varied functions did frontier forts serve,[19] and more generally what cooperation was there between thematic armies and fortresses?[20] Such investigation can be integrated with what is already known of fortifications in their roles as *ἄπληκτα*,[21] places of refuge,[22] temporary army camps,[23] and as defenders of major urban centers, strategic passes,[24] and beacon stations.[25]

Such research can only demonstrate that the role of fortifications during these centuries was more important, more varied, even more interesting than previously realized. Its importance, of course, is obvious on general principles. Although fortifications did fall to superior numbers, to treachery and to low morale, nevertheless in the days before gunpowder it was usually the besieged and not the besieger who held the advantage. The weaker side was invariably tempted to take shelter behind its walls rather than offer battle.[26] This was true everywhere during the Middle Ages, no less in Byzantium than in the West. And since after 718, until well into the tenth century, Byzantium was more often than not the weaker side in Asia Minor, the reliance on fortifications for defense must of necessity have been great.

However, this is not to say that fortifications played the most important role in defending Asia Minor. In defending Asia Minor the Byzantines resorted first of all to a policy of resettling foreign peoples. This is something emphasized in the studies of Peter Charanis[27] and hardly neglected by other scholars. It was a policy too well known to need further description here. However, it was a policy that undergirded all other elements of Byzntine defense, since manpower was needed for thematic armies, also for the construction, repair and garrisoning of fortresses, most importantly for the sustained agricultural vitality of Asia Minor. The thousands of Slavs, Armenians and other foreign peoples who were settled in Asia Minor during the eighth and ninth centuries, who tilled vacant lands and who fought in imperial armies were the prime ingredient, the lifeblood of Byzantine defense. Asia Minor was thus like a patient bleeding to death in one arm and kept alive by demographic transfusions in the other arm.

This emphasis on demographic policy as the mainstay of defense probably allowed an "elastic defense"[28] of the worst kind to continue for two centuries without the Arabs ever gaining a permanent foothold in Asia Minor. It most certainly must have been a defense which debilitated Asia Minor, one that allowed the Arabs much freedom to pillage and take captives.[29] It was certainly not a "defense-in-depth,"[30] that would have better integrated fortifications, thematic armies and demographic policy. However, the picture is still unclear, for so many questions still remain unanswered.

NOTES

1. J.B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (1912; repr., New York, 1965), p. 249.

2. See Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux ix^{e}-xi^{e} siècles," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 84 (1960) 46-52. Also: N. Oikonomidès, "L'Organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux x^{e}-xi^{e} siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial," *Actes du XIV^{e} Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucarest, 1971), pp. 288-300.

3. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 249.

4. Ralf-Johannes Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber: Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jhd*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 22 (Munich, 1976).

5. See the review by Walter E. Kaegi, Jr. in *Speculum* 53 (1978), 399-404.

6. Lilie's concept of a defense based on zones, tied down by a network of fortresses running from Amorium to Gangra, is based entirely on speculation. See Ibid., pp. 400-01, also the review by L.A. Tritle in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 73 (1980) 86. This concept is not even referred to in the review by J.F. Haldon in *Byzantinoslavica* 39 (1978) 227-29.

7. See Hélène Ahrweiler, "La frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient," *Actes du XIV^e Congres international des études byzantines* (Bucarest, 1971), p. 219; also by the same author, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (vii^e-ix^e siècles)," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 227 (1962) 12, 28.

These words of caution by R.C. Smail concerning the role of crusader castles in the Holy Land might serve as a warning for anyone attempting to comment upon the role of Byzantine fortifications. "Historians have nevertheless preferred to consider them [i.e., crusader castles] as a means of defending a frontier, and they have done so in metaphorical phrases of no very precise meaning: they have said, for example, that a castle 'guarded the frontier' or 'commanded the valley' or 'closed the route.' Since there have been epochs in which fortresses have, in time of war, literally discharged such functions, it must at once be emphasized that the medieval castle did so in only a limited sense.... Routes and areas were held or commanded by medieval garrisons only in the sense that those garrisons dominated them in time of peace and could repress civil disturbance or minor enemy raids. But when warfare was fought on a scale likely to endanger the Latin occupation, no fortress or group of fortresses could restrain the passage of an invading force." See R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 204-05. The entirety of Chapter 7 in this book, pp. 204-44, bears examination by anyone attempting to comment on the role of medieval fortifications.

8. If, for example, one attempts to validate this use of Byzantine fortresses on the basis of Arabic sources translated by E.W. Brooks, what is the result? Does it appear as if the Byzantine defense made use of fortresses to control major road systems? See E.W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898) 182-207; also "Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids," *English Historical Review* 15 (1900) 728-47, and 16 (1901) 84-92. I do not see any clear defensive strategy, either using fortifications or thematic armies. Nor is it clear in this regard that the "shadowing tactics" recommended by Byzan-

tine military manuals were much used; on this see Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 93-96. See also the remarks of J.F. Haldon, *Byzantinoslavica* 39 (1978) 228-29, as opposed to Arnold Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London, 1973), pp. 110-11.

9. Obviously we do not. See the remarks of Clive Foss in "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), p. 30, n. 2, and p. 72, n. 175 for comments on W.M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), and for more useful references. See also Friedrich Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna, 1977). If the Byzantine road system, as Foss believes, was essentially unchanged from the Roman period, then most important is this recent publication by David French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, 1: The Pilgrim's Road*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monography No. 3 (Ankara, 1981).

10. This is one of the major themes of Tsangadas' book. See Byron Tsangadas, *The Fortifications and Defense of Constantinople*, East European Monographs 71 (New York, 1980).

11. In particular, Clive Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity," *English Historical Review* 90 (1975) 721-47; also "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977) 469-86. Not only were the defenses of Asia Minor no defense at all against the Persians, but the defenses of Syria folded as well: see Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, "The Defenses of Syria in the Sixth Century," *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms. 2. Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania* (Cologne, 1974).

The important point is that the Arabs merely continued the work of devastation begun by the Persians; see Foss, "The Persians," p. 747.

12. Clive Foss, "Explorations in Mount Tmolus," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 11 (1978) 46.

13. See Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494-1660* (London, 1979), p. xi.

14. For example, see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, Md., 1965), p. 378; for the few, very brief references to fortresses from the seventh-ninth centuries. A more enlightened view is taken by Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1974), p. 11; in addition there are more than a few plates devoted to city walls (though Ankyra's fortifications are not mentioned).

15. R. Allen Brown, *English Castles*, 3rd. rev. ed. (London, 1976), p. 214.

16. Ibid.

17. F.E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto, 1971).

18. The repair and rebuilding of major fortifications was, of course, a basic concern of any responsible emperor. For example, Leo V personally supervised the rebuilding of cities in Thrace and Macedonia; see Genesios, *Regna*, ed. C. Lachman (Bonn, 1834) p. 28. Theophilos' repair and refurbishment of the walls of the capital are well known. However, a part of the city wall of Amorion was in disrepair in 838 when Mutasim threatened the city. Theophilos ordered that the wall be rebuilt, but this was not properly done. See A.A. Vasiliev-H. Grégoire, *Byzance et les Arabes, I: La dynastie d'Amorium (820-867)* (Brussels, 1935), p. 302, for Tabari's notice of this. One of the functions of the strategos was the repair and construction of fortresses; see Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration," p. 37, where the basic primary sources are cited for this.

19. It is probably a mistake to think of Byzantine frontier fortresses as having served almost exclusively the purpose of military defense. In Syria, certainly, during the period of the crusades, Frankish castles were a means of extending, dominating and policing the district around the castle. See Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, pp. 61-62, 206. It may be objected that Byzantine fortresses were hardly situated amid conquered peoples. On the other hand, how were foreign peoples, settled in Asia Minor in great numbers, actually governed, even dominated, if not from fortresses?

Liebeschuetz, "The Defenses of Syria," pp. 490-99, raises some provocative questions about the uses of sixth century Roman fortifications in Syria.

20. The effective cooperation between Latin field armies and castles is emphasized by Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, pp. 208-09. Any real "defense-in-depth" requires such cooperation. See E.N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore, 1976), p. 131, and fig. 3.2.

There are other questions as well. Did increased use of siege machinery by attacking Arab forces result in changes in fortress design and location? Why, for example, did Ankyra receive a second wall circuit in the mid-ninth century; see Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," p. 79. Harun al Raschid, whose use of siege machinery deserves a separate study, was also noted for well designed fortifications, including Marash which was refortified with double walls and a ditch. See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 129. Lilie's statement that the Arabs usually did not have an ability for prolonged sieges (see *Die byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 192-95) is certainly not true for the Caliph Harun. His siege of Semalu lasted 38 days; see E.W. Brooks, *English Historical Review* 15 (1900) 737.

As for location, it is certainly possible that fortresses built from the seventh century onwards were positioned more for tactical dominance, i.e., in strong, naturally fortified places, even if this meant places not in close proximity to highways. This was true for Late Roman fortifications, even those meant to defend road systems; see Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy*, pp. 159-61.

21. See J.B. Bury, "The ΑΠΛΗΚΤΑ of Asia Minor," Βυζαντίς 2 (1911) 216-24. For a list of the *ἄπληκτα*, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, ed. I.I. Reiske, 1 (Bonn, 1829) 444-45.

22. Fortifications were used as places of refuge for local populations. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 452, is often cited to demonstrate this.

23. These camps were fortified with a ditch or stockade. The best discussion is in Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 307-10.

24. See Ahrweiler, "La frontière," p. 217. Lulon was perhaps the most famous of such fortifications. See Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, pp. 351-54; also Ernst Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen* (Brussels, 1935), p. 45.

25. See Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 353, where the ruins of a strong fort on Mount Argaios are described. Ramsay cites this as the location of the second beacon station from the frontier.

26. See Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* 2, 2nd ed. (1924; repr., New York, 1969), pp. 53-54.

27. That this policy of resettlement was chiefly for military purposes is emphasized by Peter Charanis, "Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire," *Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Main Papers, XIV* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 12, 19, repr. in *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, Collected Studies 8 (London, Variorum Reprints, 1972), I. See also the following references in *Studies on the Demography*: II, p. 150, and IV, p. 74.

28. An "elastic defense" was one in which mobile forces were not stationed near the frontier, were not required to engage the enemy if their safety was threatened, and did not as a rule have to cooperate with fortifications. An erosion of the logistic base due to enemy devastation was the result; thus the "elastic defense" was usually a defense of weakness. See Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy*, pp. 135-45, and fig. 3.1.

This "strategy of avoidance" may have been forced upon Byzantine troops by the rapidity of Arab raiders; see J.F. Haldon, *Byzantinoslavica* 39 (1978) 228. See note 8 above.

29. It is usually assumed that after 718 the Arabs invaded Asia Minor chiefly for booty and captives. For a contrary view (not very convincing) see

M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation, II: A.D. 750-1055* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 25. There is probably a consensus that the price Byzantium paid for its "elastic defense" was enormous. See, e.g. Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (vii^{e}-ix^{e} siècles)," *Revue Historique* 227 (1962) 13-14; Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 118; also Kaegi, *Speculum* 53 (1978) 401; "Lilie underestimates, however, the terrible cost that a passive defense system, which failed to stop raiders at or near the frontier, inflicted on the population of Anatolia's towns and countryside as well as on trade, agriculture, industry and transportation." However, Toynbee points out that devastated villages were probably rebuilt quickly. Toynbee writes: "I myself, during and after the Graeco-Turkish war of 1919-22 in Asia Minor, saw a particular Turkish village intact in one year and restored, as a going concern, in the next but one, after it had been razed to the ground in the year in between. Villages in Asia Minor in the heyday of the East Roman Empire were probably as easily reparable as they were in the 1920s." See Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 35, n. 2.

30. See Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy*, p. 131, where this is described as "the combination of *self-contained* strongholds with mobile forces deployed between or behind them." Sooner or later the enemy would be confronted by the superior strength of fortifications and mobile troops acting in combination. See also Ibid., fig. 3.2.

A "defense-in-depth" required that fortresses under siege for some time be relieved by mobile forces which were willing to confront the enemy in battle. The knowledge that help was not forthcoming could have a demoralizing effect on fortresses. For example, after the battle of Dazimon in 838, which Theophilos lost, the residents of Ankyra simply fled. See A.A. Vasiliev-H. Grégoire, *Byzance et les Arabes*, pp. 300-01 for Tabarī's notice of this. How often in Greek and Arabic sources does one read of thematic armies marching to the relief of fortresses, especially frontier fortresses? Local populations which had sought refuge in frontier fortresses were indeed "une proie facile" for Arab raiders who could usually count on the non-appearance of a Byzantine relief column. See Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure," p. 12. A proper defense-in-depth was intended for sixth century Syria; see Liebeschuetz, "The Defenses of Syria," pp. 498-99.

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DENO J. GEANAKOPLOS

THE SECOND ECUMENICAL SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381): PROCEEDINGS AND THEOLOGY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

In the long annals of the Christian Church, it is the First Synod of Constantinople held in that capital in 381, that marks the emergence of the See of Constantinople to preeminence over the Eastern sees of Christendom. More important, theologically, it was at this synod that the most fundamental of Christian doctrines, that of the Trinity was completed, with the Holy Spirit declared, at least implicitly, to be divine and *homoousios* with the Father and the Son in the Godhead.[1] Henceforth, all forms of Arianism, which had denied the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and in particular the heresy of the Pneumatomachians (or Macedonians), who believed the Holy Spirit to be merely a creature of the Son, were declared anathematized, and the Creed of Nikaia, with certain amplifications relating primarily to the Holy Spirit became Orthodox dogma. For these reasons, the First Synod of Constantinople in 381, though not recognized as ecumenical until the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon in 451 was of profound importance not only for the Christian Church as a whole, but for the future development of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople in particular.

The *Praktika* or *Acta* of this synod have not survived. Thus, we know even less about its proceedings than we do about the Synod of Nikaia.[2] It is the primary intention of this paper ~~to try to~~ reconstruct, insofar as possible; the proceedings of this synod, discussing the reason for its convocation and the nature of the deliberations which took place. In the course of my paper, I will devote time to certain matters somewhat peripheral to the main business of the synod, then to the central theological question of the nature of the Holy Spirit and its relationship to the Father and Son in the Trinity, and also to the canons of the synod, especially the third so significant for the future development of the See of Constantinople. Finally, I will consider the question of the synod's ecumenicity in the light of its own deliberations as well as those of succeeding synods. In this way I hope to provide not only a reasonably adequate sense of the proceedings and synodical decisions, but of the reception and meaning of the synod in the Greek East and the Latin West.

The concept of the convocation of a universal or ecumenical synod of the bishops of the entire Church, assembling in order to solve questions disturbing the peace of the Church, originated with Emperor Constantine the Great. At the First Ecumenical Synod which he convoked at Nikaia in 325, the pressing and critical theological problem, that of the relationship of the Father and the Son (or *Logos*) was precisely defined. The Son was declared to be of exactly the same substance (*homoousios*) as the Father, not different (*anomoios*) or even similar (*homoiousios*), as the more prominent groups of Arians maintained. The Synod of Nikaia marked the triumph, above all, of the views of Saint Athanasios of Alexandria over the Arians. According to Athanasios, identity of substance between Father and Son was an absolute necessity. Since God (in Christ) became man so that man could become God, without precise identification of the substance of Father and Son man's salvation would be impossible.[3]

Strangely enough, up to the time of Nikaia virtually no theologian, except in passing, had considered the corollary fundamental question of the precise relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son.[4] When mentioned, in fact, the Holy Spirit was usually considered an inferior being, a creature, usually of the Son. Others conceived the Holy Spirit as a vague sort of spirit not infrequently mentioned in the Old and New Testaments. Indeed, some believed the Holy Spirit of the Old to be different from that of the New Testament.[5] Finally, an extreme view even believed in a kind of descending hierarchy of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[6]

In any event, in the half-century after the Synod of Nikaia (325), sharp disagreements broke out among those Fathers of the Church who wished to define precisely the nature and function of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity. It is obvious that belief in the Holy Spirit as inferior in any significant way to the other persons of the Trinity would destroy the unity of God, the very monotheism of Christianity.

What I have set forth is, of course, a rather simplified version of the many theological views and disputes of the age. But it serves to provide the background and in some measure the rationale for

Emperor Theodosios' decision to convoke a synod in 381 at his capital city, Constantinople, in order to bring about concord in the church and public order in the Empire. Actually, the fifty-six years between convocation of the Synods of Nikaia in 325 and Constantinople in 381 had been marked by constant theological and ecclesiastical turmoil, but much more so in the East.[7] Part of this was owing to ecclesiastical rivalry of the various sees,[8] sometimes owing to the different emphasis on biblical exegesis of the rival Alexandrian and Antiochene schools. The two basic approaches of these schools gave rise to different views in doctrine on the Trinity, some of which at least indirectly, may have influenced the various forms of Arianism and certainly later the debates over Christology.[9]

Under Valens, the pro-Arian emperor who ruled in the East just before Theodosios, the Nicene bishops had been expelled and their churches in the East handed over to the various groups of Arians. At the death of Valens in 378 at the battle of Adrianople, Gratian, his Nicene co-emperor in the West of the still theoretically undivided Roman Empire, appointed as emperor in the East his Spanish general Theodosios. A Westerner by birth, Theodosios I, like most of the Latin West including Pope Damasos, was Nicene in belief. In an edict he issued in February of 380, Theodosios ordered the people, especially of Constantinople, to follow the religion the Apostle Peter had handed down to the Romans and was now professed by Pope Damasos and Bishop Peter of Alexandria. Those deviating from this profession, which recognized "the one divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in equal majesty and Holy Trinity" were to be considered heretics.[10] When Theodosios made his triumphant entry into Constantinople on 24 November 380—a city he soon became enamored of—he quickly expelled its Arian bishop Demophilos.

Theodosios, intending to enforce his religious and political program, not unilaterally but with the ecclesiastical representatives of the Nicene faith, then quickly moved to convoke a synod. Two urgent problems in the East which Theodosios wanted settled by a synod were: first, the ecclesiastical schism in Antioch; and second, doctrinally, the question of the Holy Spirit. The latter question was particularly pressing because of the emergence to prominence of the Pneumatomachian party.

Why Theodosios dispatched invitations to a synod to be convoked in 381 in Constantinople only to bishops of the East and not of the West can perhaps best be explained as follows: Technically he was ruler of the East not yet of the Western half of the empire. Moreover, the problems of doctrine, especially the various ramifications of the Arian heresy, seemed to be concentrated primarily in the East. In any case, the idea of a synod was apparently his alone, although he had made known his intent to the Bishop of Thessalonike who had, in turn, informed Pope Damasos of his plan.[11] The text and exact date of the imperial edict of convocation have not survived, but on the basis of the synodical letter of another synod held in Constantinople one year later, in 382, it may be dated to the end of 380 or beginning of 381. The word 'ecumenical' is used in the text of the synodical letter of 382 referring to the Synod of 381. It seems clear, however, that the term as used by the Synod of 382 was not intended to refer to the entire church but only to the ecclesiastical areas of the Eastern or Greek-speaking portion of the empire.[12]

In the fashion of Constantine, whose spiritual heir he undoubtedly envisioned himself, Theodosios probably addressed the bishops at their first assembly.[13] The Synod seems to have opened in the imperial palace, though later sessions apparently took place in the cathedral.[14] In contrast to the Synod of Nikaia, where 318 Fathers appeared, only 150 bishops, all from the Eastern dioceses, were in attendance. Included were some famous names, Fathers noted for their doctrinal beliefs and apostolic endeavors. The most eminent were: Gregory the Theologian, intimate friend to, and Gregory of Nyssa, brother of, Saint Basil (who had died only two years before); Meletios, Bishop of Antioch who arrived early accompanied by seventy bishops from his diocese of the East, who constituted the largest contingent at the synod; and Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem; Diodoros of Tarsus and Peter of Sebastia, a younger brother of Basil.[15] Virtually all these Fathers were in essence Nicene in their faith and largely in agreement as to expression of the precise words of dogma since the emergence to prominence of the Cappadocian or Neo-Nicene party. The Cappadocian Fathers based their view of the Trinity on Saint Athanasios, but unlike him they drew a genuine distinction between the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis* as reflected in Basil's phrase, "One *ousia* in three *hypostases*" (one essence in three persons).[16]

Early in the Synod, Meletios, Bishop of Antioch, was elected presiding official of the assembly. This choice was easily accepted by Theodosios, who, according to the historian Theodoretos, recognized in Meletios the prelate who had earlier appeared to him in a dream and crowned him emperor.[17] Besides 150 Orthodox

Fathers, a number to become famous in history, there were also present, by order of the emperor, thirty-six Pneumatomachian or Macedonian bishops, so-called after their leader Makedonios, former Patriarch of Constantinople. They came headed by their leader Eleusis of Kyzikos, earlier a champion of the *homoousios* as related to the Son.[18]

The first order of business was probably the question of naming a bishop for the See of Constantinople. The chief candidate for the post was the Cappadocian Gregory the Theologian, who was evidently the choice of Meletios of Antioch, a fact which assured him the support of most of the Eastern bishops. Few apparently took seriously the claims of the opportunistic Maximos the Cynic, who was the preferred candidate for bishop of Constantinople of Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria. As to a possible technical objection against Gregory's nomination—that he had earlier been named bishop of Sasima—the assembly was willing to overlook this on the ground that he had never taken possession of that diocese. President Meletios and the assembly, accordingly, formally installed Gregory as Bishop of Constantinople evidently in the Church of the Holy Apostles.[19]

At this time Meletios unexpectedly died. Theodosios assisted at his last rites, with the funeral eulogy delivered by Gregory of Nyssa.[20] Meletios' death opened a dangerous crisis for the synod, for it led soon to the resignation from the See of Constantinople of Gregory the Theologian. Meletios himself had been involved in the current schism at Antioch over the rightful occupant of the bishopric of Antioch. This schism, involving not only Constantinople but Alexandria and even distant Rome, provides a striking example of the contemporary practice of the interference of leading bishops in affairs of other dioceses.[21]

Gregory made sincere attempts to solve the schism over Antioch, offering even to accept the opposing party's candidate, Paulinos, for that see. But the Meletian faction, as well as the Egyptians (who arrived later) refused and insisted on reserving action until the delegates' return to Antioch. But worse things were in store for Gregory. Arriving late at the synod (evidently in response to a new and urgent summons from Theodosios) were Timothy, the Egyptian Bishop of Alexandria, and Ascholios, Bishop of Thessalonike.[22] These two bishops now not only opposed Gregory in the matter of the see of Antioch but even proclaimed their opposition to Gregory's own election to the see of Constantinople. They insisted his election was invalid on the grounds it violated Canon 15 of Nikaia, prohibiting translation of a bishop from one see to another.[23] This disturbed Theodosios, who seemed partial to Gregory, since several years earlier Gregory, at great personal sacrifice, had been primarily responsible for the effective reestablishment of the Nicene faith in Constantinople to the detriment of the formerly predominant Arian faction.[24]

After considerable dissension between himself and the supporters of Alexandria and Thessalonike, Gregory, finally, exasperated, weary and perhaps ill, came to the magnimous decision to abdicate his see and thus open the way to election of a third party. A homily Gregory delivered before the synod informs us in vibrant and emotional tones of his decision, while reflecting a sense of discriminating tact as well as disappointment. While presenting in his address a last public declaration of his belief in the full divinity of the three persons in the Trinity, Gregory bade an extremely touching farewell to his flock, his cathedral, and his episcopal throne:

> Farewell ye Apostles, noble settlers here, my masters in the strife [probably referring to the Apostles' relics in the Church of the Holy Apostles] . . . Farewell mighty Christ-loving city. . . . Farewell, East and West, for whom and against whom I have had to fight. . . . Last of all and most of all, I will cry . . . farewell ye Angels, guardians of this church, and of my presence and pilgrimage, since our affairs are in the hands of God. Farewell, O Trinity, my meditation and my glory. Mayest Thou be preserved by those who are here, and preserve them, my people. . . .[25]

After this solemn farewell, so full of pathos, Gregory left Constantinople to return to Nazianzos in Asia Minor where he lived until his death.

The sensational abdication of Gregory and the rejection of Maximos, the Alexandrian candidate for the See of Constantinople, now constrained the synod Fathers to look for a person acceptable to all. Finally selected was an unknown, the layman Nektarios, a senator from Tarsos who, despite some slight opposition, was duly consecrated Bishop of Constantinople.[26]

The Synod's attention now turned to the most critical point of business, the theological doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In the Nicene confession of faith, the Holy Spirit had been mentioned only once, and in vague and general terms. Thus after a declaration of belief in the divinity and consubstantiality of Father and Son, the simple phrase "And in the Holy Spirit," had been included at Nikaia.[27] Theodosios, as seems implied by all three historians who discuss the synod, Socrates, Sozomenos, and Theodoretos, exerted efforts behind the scenes to win over the Pneumatomachians (literally the "fighters against the Holy Spirit") to belief in the divinity of the Father, Son, *and* Holy Spirit.[28] But despite imperial efforts and those of the Orthodox majority, all efforts to convert the Pneumatomachians failed and they left the synod. As they departed, we are told, they warned the others not to cede to the dogma of the *homoousios* with respect to the Holy Spirit.[29]

As Harnack puts it, "One is surprised to observe the strange obstinacy of those who, after admitting the divinity of the Son, opposed with so much tenacity that of the Holy Spirit."[30] The Macedonians found it difficult to conceive of a Trinity of persons in the Godhead all of equal dignity, not to speak of the Holy Spirit as of the same substance (*homoousios*) with the Father and Son. To the Macedonians, one might say, the Godhead seemed almost Binitarian. Their view of the Holy Spirit, in a sense, paralleled the view of Arios in the earlier period that Christ was a third something, a *tertium quid*, between God and Man. Thus, analogously, the Pneumatomachians conceived of the Holy Spirit as a creature, a kind of super-angel created in time by the Son.

It was primarily as a result of the insistent hammering of Saint Basil in his discourses *On the Holy Spirit* and *Against Eunomios*, and perhaps even more of Gregory the Theologian's celebrated *Five Theological Orations on the Trinity* (composed just before the synod in the summer or fall of 380), that the third member of the Trinity was finally recognized as having full divinity and consubstantiality coeternally with the other two members of the Trinity.[31] The key to the solution was in the Cappadocian exegesis (particularly of Patriarch Gregory) which, following Saint John, explained the origin of the Holy Spirit in terms of "procession" (*ekporeusis*) or of "sending forth" (*ekpempsis*), rather than in terms of being begotten. This means that the Son and Holy Spirit, though both *homoousios* with the Father, are related to him in a different way, the first being *begotten* of the Father, the second *proceeding* from him.[32]

After apparently little more than two months, certainly not an excessive time for discussion, the assembly promulgated a dogmatic *tomos*, that is, a creed. In this the Fathers would ratify and complete in greater detail the Symbol of Nikaia. This symbol, according to Greek Orthodox tradition, is the one today called the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed. It should be noted, however, that modern scholarly discussion on the background and the time of origin of the text of this creed has not yet reached unanimous agreement.[33]

After this the Fathers at Constantinople occupied themselves, it seems, with juridical questions, that is the drawing up of canons (which I shall discuss shortly). The Symbol ended its deliberations on 9 July 381. Before dismissal, its members wrote a synodical letter to Theodosios, thanking God and his instrument the emperor for procuring peace in the church and preserving the integrity of the faith. Then, to quote from the letter, "with a unanimous heart, and confessing the faith of Nikaia and condemning its opponents" they begged the emperor to ratify their deliberations.[34] Subsequently, on 30 July 381, the emperor issued an official decree to the Eastern churches directing that whatever churches remained to the Arians be turned over to the Orthodox. He also specified who were to be considered Orthodox: "Those in communion with Bishop Nektarios of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria, Diodoros of Tarsos, Amphilochios of Ikonion, Gregory of Nyssa, etc."[35]

Now that we have reconstructed the proceedings of the synod in the order in which they seem to have occurred, let us turn more specifically to the Creed of Constantinople. At the second session of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalkedon, held seventy years later in 451, and whose acts and deliberations serve to cast a little much-needed light on the Synod of Constantinople, the imperial commissioners representing Emperor Marcian insisted that the assembled Fathers compose a formula of faith to combat the growing heresies on Christology, that is on the relationship of the divine and human natures in Christ. The bishops then read the symbol formulated at the Synod of Nikaia. But at the insistence and initiation, it might be noted, of the imperial commissioners they then read, publicly, another symbol, which they attributed to the Synod "of the 150 bishops of Constantinople."[36] Later at the fifth session of Chalkedon, the Symbol of Constantinople was again read, in order it would seem, to give the creed an ecumenical validity. And in fact it was these official readings at the undeniably

Ecumenical Fourth Synod of Chalkedon which served thereafter to grant the rank of ecumenicity to the Synod of 381.[37]

But why did the imperial commissioners insist on the reading of the Creed of Constantinople, especially in light of the prescription of the Synod of Ephesos held in 431 that nothing could be added to the creed of Nikaia? (Ephesos, incidentally, said nothing about the Synod of Constantinople). The imperial representatives (who apprently had obtained a copy of the creed from the imperial archives) must have realized that, since Nikaia had in the end successfully prevailed over the views of the heretic Arios, and the Synod of Constantinople succeeded in destroying the party of the Macedonians, conciliar acceptance of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed would be the most effective way to insure doctrinal unity on the Trinity, before moving to consideration of the difficult Christological problem, now the chief point of dogmatic controversy.

Though at Chalkedon the Symbol of Constantinople was read twice—and there is no record any of the Fathers present seriously questioned its derivation from the Synod of Constantinople—certain modern critics, notably Harnack, Bardy, and Hort have maintained that it does not truly belong to Constantinople.[38] The most recent and persuasive scholarly opinion, however, that of A. Ritter, followed by J. Kelly, now accepts that the symbol was, indeed, approved at the Synod of Constantinople, although it almost certainly did not originate there. The principal reason for this view is, as first shown by Ch. Papadopoulos,[39] that a symbol almost literally identical with what we term that of Constantinople is quoted at the end of the treatise *Ankoratos*, of Saint Epiphanios of Cyprus, dated 374, that is seven years *before* the Synod of Constantinople. Epiphanios was not at the Synod of Constantinople, but his fellow bishops from Cyprus could easily have brought his creed with them.[40] Moreover, a close examination of the Symbol of Constantinople shows it also to be the baptismal symbol of the Church of Jerusalem, which Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, who was at the synod, had been employing as the basis for his *catecheseis* or manuals for religious instruction.[41]

There are, in addition, certain repeated references, if only hints, in the sources before 451 to the existence of the Symbol of Constantinople and especially to the amplifications it made to the Creed of Nikaia, for example in Gregory the Theologian's famous autobiographical poem *Carmen de vita sua*, written after his abdication.[42] Clearer is a passage from the *Tenth Catechetical Homily* of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), a pupil of Bishop Diodoros of Tarsos, who was present at the Synod of Constantinople. This passage states that at Nikaia the bishops were content to provide a symbol that dealt with the first two persons of the Trinity, but that "the Fathers who came after them (meaning of the Synod of Constantinople) transmitted a *complete* doctrine of the third person, the Holy Spirit." Theodore in fact enumerates certain additions to the Nicene symbol made at Constantinople: the phrase "which [the Holy Spirit] proceeds from the Father," mention of "one holy catholic Church" and "remission of sins," and the phrase "resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."[43]

An analysis of the text of the Symbol of Constantinople reveals that the Symbol of Nikaia was left intact but that amplifications were made in the first, second, and above all, the third article. The additions to the first and second articles, such as "maker of heaven and earth," "eternally begotten" and "by the power of the Holy Spirit he was born of the Virgin Mary and became man," are found in other formulas and texts and are therefore not new creations of the Synod of Constantinople.[44]

What makes the Creed of Constantinople so important, however, are the new statements–merely amplifications, the Fathers considered them–included in the third article, where amplification is provided to the simple phrase stated in the Nicene Symbol "And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit." In the Symbol of Constantinople that phrase "And in the Holy Spirit," is elaborated to read, "The Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son spoke through the prophets."[45]

The question of the divinity of the third person, the Holy Spirit in the Trinity had very early been raised by Origen. But it was Saints Basil and Gregory the Theologian who wrote most authoritatively on the Holy Spirit, in order above all to show its divinity and consubstantiality with the Father and the Son. Basil showed that certain passages in the New Testament using the term "Lord" (*Kyrios*) refer specifically to the Holy Spirit.[46] And Gregory of Constantinople, in his *Fifth Theological Oration*, systematically listed all the various divine names applied in the New Testament to the Holy Spirit, at the end concluding that the Holy Spirit must be divine. As he put it, "He is not a creature nor an angel." To answer the Macedonian view that the Holy Spirit is a creature made by the Son, the Symbol of Constantinople quoted from Saint John (15.26) affirming that the Holy Spirit, "proceeds from the Father."

The Father is, of course, divine.

Gregory's opponents (in order to oppose the divinity and *homoousion* of the Holy Spirit) had proposed the following syllogism:

> Either the Holy Spirit is altogether unbegotten, or else it is begotten. If it is unbegotten, there are two unoriginates. If it is begotten, you must make a further subdivision. It is so either by the Father or by the Son. And if by the Father, there are two sons, and they are brothers. And you may make them twins if you like. . . . But if by the Son, then such a one will say we get a glimpse of a grandson God, than which nothing could be more absurd.

Combatting the view that there is no mean between begotten and unbegotten, Gregory then adduces a key term to identify the distinctive property of the Holy Spirit, namely procession or sending forth. And this he bases on the New Testament, John 15.26, a passage cited here a bit earlier, affirming that the Holy Spirit "proceeds from the Father." As Gregory asked his opponents: "Tell me what position will you assign to that which proceeds? . . . Or perhaps you have taken that word out of your Gospels for the sake of your third Testament, the Holy Ghost, which proceeds from the Father; who, inasmuch as he proceeds from that source, is no creature."[47]

Gregory also employs the term *agennesia* (unbegottenness or innascibility) to refer to a basic property of the Father in the Trinity. Saying that if his interlocutor can explain the mystery of the *agennesia* of the Father,

> I, [Gregory], will explain to you the physiology of the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit. And we shall, both of us, be frenzy-stricken for prying into the mystery of God. And who are we to do these things, we who cannot even see what lies at our feet, or number the sand of the sea, or the drops of rain, or the days of eternity, much less enter into the depths of God and supply an account of that nature which is so unspeakable and transcending all words.[48]

Here, I believe, is one of the supreme expressions of the ineffability and incomprehensibility of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in all of Christian literature.

In the same *Fifth Oration* Gregory totally rejects the Pneumatomachian view that the Holy Spirit, to be God, should have been the Son. According to the Macedonians, "If he is not [the Son], how can he be consubstantial with the Father?" Gregory cites here the example of Adam, Eve and Seth. Eve was a fragment of Adam, and Seth was begotten of both Adam and Eve, but all three are of the very same substance.[49] This, I believe, is less convincing proof, since it argues from the analogy of the human to the divine.

From several other phrases or words incorporated in 381 into the Creed of Nikaia we may determine still other points of discussion at the synod on the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with Father and Son. The most decisive statement of all on the divinity of the Holy Spirit is probably the use of the Greek terms *symproskynoumenon* and *syndoxazomenon*, the first acknowledging that the Holy Spirit should be *worshipped*, or adored, along with the Father and Son; the second acknowledging that the same *doxa* (glory) should be rendered to Father, Son, *and* Holy Spirit.[50] As Basil put it, "Glory to the Father with the Son and the Holy Spirit."[51] Basil thus disputes those who deny to the Holy Spirit the worship and the glory, urging that in the adoration the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the Father and Son.

Since the time of Cyril of Jerusalem, Orthodox theology had fought for inclusion of the Holy Spirit in the doxology (the glorification) as a ritual liturgical formula. The approval and inclusion of the Holy Spirit in the adoration and glorification equally with the Father and Son would be in effect equivalent to profession of the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and Son.[52]

The defenders of adoration equally for the Holy Spirit were supported by certain early baptismal formulas and by New Testament texts which justified liturgical usage of glorifying the three members of the Trinity in the same doxology.[53] Gregory the Theologian in still another passage of his *On the Holy Spirit* wrote: "The Old Testament proclaimed the Father openly and the Son more obscurely. The New manifested the Son and suggested the deity of the Spirit. Now the Spirit himself dwells among us and supplies us with a clearer demonstration of himself."[54]

Still another phrase incorporated into the Creed of Constantinople was one derived from the Old Testament: "The Holy Spirit spoke through the prophets."[55] Already Saint Athanasios, in his third letter to Serapion, affirmed (and this text was doubtless quoted at the synod): "The Spirit is so inseparable from the Son that what we have said before does not permit us to doubt it. . . . The Father himself makes and gives all through the Son in the

Spirit."[56]

Why was the term *homoousios* not explicitly adopted for the Holy Spirit in the Symbol of 381? One modern critic surmises that the Orthodox majority at Constantinople hoped thereby to render the Macedonians better disposed to union by means of an argument closer to Scripture.[57] This theory, or course, would imply discussion of the symbol *before* the departure of the Macedonian faction from the synod. Even more important, why did the doctrine on the divinity and also the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with Father and Son, even if not explicitly stated in the symbol, nevertheless prevail at the synod, as is clearly implied by the synod's first canon anathematizing the Macedonians, and also by the unequivocal phrase of the subsequent Synod of 382 in Constantinople: "one divinity, power, and substance of the Father, Son *and* Holy Spirit."[58]

We now come to the question of the canons of the synod: How many were actually promulgated by the Synod of 381? The Greek tradition, the canonists Balsamon and Zonaras in particular, usually attribute seven to the synod.[59] Western canonists, on the other hand, include only four, affirming that canons five and six came from the Synod of Constantinople of 382, and canon 7, from the mid-fifth century.[60] Here I shall discuss only the more important first four canons.

The first canon states that the confession of faith of the 318 Fathers assembled at Nikaia should not be abolished but is to remain in force, and every heresy to be anathematized, especially that of the Eunomaians or Anomaians, the Arians or Eudoxians, the Semi-Arians, a term which then seems to have embraced all those who, without being necessarily Arian, at bottom were not in accord with Nikaia.[61] The Pneumatomachians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit while admitting that of the Son, had from 360 onwards, left the ranks of Semi-Arians.

In these anathematizations we see vividly, though briefly, the many types of Trinitarian heresies derived largely from Arianism that had emerged between the time of the Nicene creed and the Synod of Constantinople, along with mention of the very first Christological heresy, Apollinarianism. The belief of Apollinarios of Laodikia, originally an ardent defender of Nikaia, that in the Incarnation the Logos did not assume the principal part of man, the rational soul, scandalized the Antiochenes and in a real sense paved the way for Monophysitism.[62]

Canon 2 has to do with ecclesiastical organization in the

Eastern part of the empire and decrees that the affairs of each ecclesiastical province are to be dealt with by its provincial synod. In other words, bishops should not leave their dioceses to interfere in the affairs of other churches. Note that the term 'dioceses,' as used here, means an administrative group of various provinces following the civil organization of the empire introduced earlier by Diocletian. This canon enumerates the civil dioceses in the East, with the ecclesiastical diocese closely following the civil: Thrace with its capital at Heraklia, now displaced by Constantinople; Asia with its capital at Ephesos; Pontos with capital at Caesarea of Cappadocia; the Orient with capital at Antioch; and Egypt centered in Alexandria.[63] Clearly, in this canon the synod intended to censure the conduct of Alexandria, which, long considering itself first in the East, was continually interfering in the affairs of other Eastern dioceses. The belief that this canon was not directed at Rome is probably correct, although it cannot be said with certainty that this canon does not reflect Eastern objection to interference by Rome in affairs of the Eastern churches.[64]

Canon 3 is without doubt the most important decree of the synod, certainly regarding the Church of Constantinople. Its text states simply that "the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honor (*presveia times*) after the Bishop of Rome, for their city is the New Rome." This canon may well reflect, not only the attitude of Constantinople's clergy.[65] but, above all, the attitude of Emperor Theodorios who, full of admiration for his new capital, and again in imitation of Constantine, had defintely fixed the seat of his government in Constantinople in contrast to his immediate predecessors who were absent for long periods in Antioch.[66] Theodosios must has seen the advantages accruing to an emperor resident in Constantinople of having a Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical primacy in the East, even if only of honor. Such a development could avoid seeing Constantinople fall again into the hands of heretics like the Arians, and also lessen the disorders that plagued relations between Alexandria and Antioch.

Constantinople had now truly become a second Rome, with splendid buildings, a Senate, and the imperial court in residence. Echoes of such considerations are found in the farewell sermon of Gregory of Constantinople delivered just before his abdication. He calls Constantinople the "eye of the universe (*oikoumene*), a city very powerful on sea and land, which is, as it were, the link between the Eastern and Western shores, in which the extremities of the world from every side meet together, and from which, as the common mart of the faith, they take their rise . . ."[67]

Instead of reflecting primarily, as some historians affirm, the ambition of Constantinople's bishop to surpass Alexandria (and Antioch), would it not seem more accurate to affirm that the naming of Constantinople as first in honor after Rome because it is the second Rome, was basically to recognize the realities of the political situation and to transfer them to the ecclesiastical sphere—that is in accordance with the old so-called "theory of accommodation?"[68] One may cite as a precedent for thinking of this kind, besides Canon 4 of Nikaia, Canon 9 of the Synod of Antioch of 341, a largely semi-Arian Conciliabulum, to be sure, but at which it was specified that "the dignity of an episcopal see is according to the political rank of a city."[69]

Canon 4, of less importance, asserted the invalidity of the consecration of Maximos, the candidate supported by Alexandria to the see of Constantinople.[70] To be noted is that both Alexandria and Rome soon repudiated Maximos and accepted Nektarios as legitimate bishop of Constantinople. Nevertheless, this canon clearly served as a rebuke to Alexandria and, though certainly to a lesser extent, Rome.[71]

The ecumenical character of the Synod of Constantinople, as noted, was not officially recognized by the entire Church, West and East, until the Synod of Chalkedon in 451. To be sure, the Fathers of the synod convoked in Constantinople in 382 (at which virtually the same Fathers assembled as in 381)[72] in the letter they sent to Pope Damasos communicating the results of the Synod of 381, refer explicitly to "the creed promulgated for greater clarity one year before at Constantinople by the ecumenical synod."[73] But, as noted earlier, the term ecumenical, as used here, is to be taken in the restricted sense of the Greek-speaking *oikoumene*. As for the Third Ecumenical Synod of Ephesos in 431, it made no reference whatsoever to the Synod of 381. It was, then, the public reading of the Symbol of Constantinople at Chalkedon that served primarily to render the Synod of Constantinople ecumenical. The final seal of ecumenicity for both East and West, however, was placed on the synod by Emperor Justinian's prominent mention of Constantinople in his edict as one of "the Four Ecumenical Synods."[74]

True, Pope Damasos, on the grounds he was not officially informed of the canons of the Synod of Constantinople, refused at first to ratify the acts of the synod. But after Chalkedon, Constantinople's Symbol was accepted by Rome as well as the East, though the West continued for centuries to refuse to ratify the canons. Thus, Pope Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, while refusing to acknowledge the canons, did accept the Symbol of Constantinople and the synod itself as one of the "four ecumenical synods," comparing them to the four Gospels of the Church.[75] Only in 1215 did Rome finally accept the validity of the third canon of Constantinople, but at that time Constantinople had been conquered by the West and a Latin patriarch presided over the see of Constantinople.[76]

The famous Canon 28 of the Synod of Chalkedon was undoubtedly a restatement and further development of the third canon of Constantinople. But Canon 28, besides again affirming the place of honor to Constantinople after Rome, secured to Constantinople also the right to consecrate the exarchs (chief bishops) of the diocesan capitals of Ephesos in Asia, of Caesarea of Cappadocia in Pontos, and of Thrace, of which Constantinople was now the primatial see, a circumstance which served to bring to Constantinople jurisdiction over Thrace and most of Asia Minor.[77] Canon 28 of Chalkedon, then, reflected even further the theory of accommodation of the ecclesiastical structure of the church to the political organization of the empire. It should be stressed that accommodation of church organization to the civil structure did not begin in 381. As Father Dvornik in his *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* has convincingly and temperately shown, 'accomodatio' as distinguished from the concept of 'apostolicity' began earlier at the time of the Apostles themselves, and continued under Constantine the Great. Therefore, at the Synods of Constantinople and Chalkedon, it was simply a recognition of the fact that, politically, Constantinople had become the capital, at least in the East, of the Roman Empire.[78]

To conclude: the Synod of Constantinople thus ratified and completed the Creed of Nikaia by defining the precise relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son in the Trinity. Though the creed itself did not explicitly employ the term *homoousios*, it implicitly rejected the view of the Macedonians who refused to admit the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with Father and Son. Moreover, the Macedonians were categorically anathematized as heretics by the first canon of that synod. Why were the 150 Fathers of Constantinople able so well to succeed in their work of elaborating on the Nicene Creed and condemning Macedonianism? Besides the importance of the role of the Nicene Emperor Theodosios, the synod's success, in contrast to the turmoil of Nikaia and especially that of the many post-Nicene local synods, was, I think, in large measure owing to the fact that the assembled Fathers now represented a more homogeneous theology and a commonly understood terminology. They not only perceived a clear distinction between the terms *ousia* (essence) and *hypostasis* (person) but, now especially, a clear distinction between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit, from the Father. The great Cappadocian Fathers: Basil, Gregory the Theologian, and Gregory of Nyssa had done their work well.

It should be noted that the East, with its emphasis on the monarchy of the Father as the root of the Trinity, accepted this definition as meaning the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *alone* (a word, however, not expressed in the creed). Indeed, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, in order evidently to stress the intra-trinitarian unity of the Trinity even further, seemed sometimes to prefer the formula "from the Father *through* the Son."[79] Athanasios implies something similar, it would seem, in his third letter to Serapion, which had said, "The Father himself makes and gives all *through* the Son in the Spirit."[80] And at the famous Council of Florence in 1439 over one millennium later, both Greeks and Latins accepted that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.[81] The West, on the other hand, at least some Fathers at Constantinople in 381 and especially later, by placing the emphasis rather on the equality of the three persons in the Trinity, each partaking of the same divine essence, drew the implication that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son (*filioque*). This term was first added to the creed and recited in the Mozarabic liturgy of late sixth-century Spain.[82] But addition of this term, according to the Greek church, would imply two *archai* or root sources for the Trinity.

Thus, the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople had the honor of ratifying and completing the creed of Nikaia which, after the Synod of Chalkedon, and under the name of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol, henceforth become the standard creed for all of Christendom. At the same time, the Synod of Constantinople, by raising Constantinople to a position second to Rome in honor, exalted it above the other Eastern sees, especially Alexandria, and thus constituted the first important step leading to the development of the Patriarchate of Constantinople whose patriarch, in the late sixth century adopted the title "ecumenical."[83] From a retrospective point of view, the synod of Constantinople, if unwittingly, by elevating Constantinople to second place immediately behind Rome in the Church, may be said to have sowed the seed for the later rivalry between Rome and Constantinople, which, little by little, developed into the 'Great Schism,' so tragic for the relations between Eastern and Western Christendom.

NOTES

1. It is important to note that in the so-called Symbol of Constantinople, the terms *divine* and *homoousios*, relating to the Holy Spirit, do not explicitly appear. But the divinity of the Holy Spirit is certainly implied in the terms *symproskynoumenon* and *syndoxazomenon* ("worshiped and glorified together with the Father and Son"). Evidently, when they formulated the creed, the Fathers of 381 were trying not to *directly* antagonize their opponents, the Macedonian group. Moreover, the Macedonians, who believed the Holy Spirit to be a creature of the Son, were *explicitly* anathematized in Canon 1 of this Synod of 381.

2. For information on the Synod provided by sources other than the *Acta*, see notes below.

3. Cf. e.g., A. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought, Early and Eastern* (New York-London, 1947) 1, pp. 246-57.

4. See the objective and well documented study of H. Jedin, *History of the Church, The Imperial Centuries from Constantine to the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1980) 2, p. 73.

5. McGiffert, *History of Christian Thought*, pp. 271-72.

6. A. von Harnack, *History of Dogma* (New York, 1961) 4, p. 119. The one really convincing argument for the divinity of the Spirit and his equality with the Father and the Son, according to St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit*, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser., vol. 8, p. 24, is the association of the Spirit with Father and Son in the baptismal formula (cf. McGiffert, *History*, p. 272).

7. On the various conflicts, almost entirely over Arianism, and the numerous local councils held in the West and, more particularly the East, to resolve the problem of Arianism see esp. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries*, pp. 59-67. Also his shorter work, *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church* (Freiburg-London, n.d.) pp. 21-24.

8. On rivalries based on Apostolic claims of the various sees see especially F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966) pp. 28-32.

9. The Antiochene stressed literal interpretation in a historical framework, and the Alexandrian, following Origen, stressed an allegorical, often mystical,

exegesis.

10. For this edict, "Cunctos populos," see *The Theodosian Code*, ed. C. Pharr (Princeton, 1952) 16.1.2. Cf. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries*, p. 68.

11. Ibid., p. 69.

12. Text, Mansi, 3, 557-60. On this cf. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries*, pp. 76-77, especially text and note 89.

13. Ibid., p. 70, who says "Theodosios neither took part (in the sessions) personally nor was even represented by officials at the Council." But this latter seems unlikely to me. Emperor Constantine at Nikaia, Theodosios II at Ephesos, and Marcian at Chalkedon (451), even if they did not participate, all were represented by civil officials. And certainly all emperors exerted their influence behind the scenes.

14. Whether this was at Hagia Sophia or Church of the Holy Apostles is not entirely clear, although Hagia Sophia (the cathedral church) seems more likely. Cf. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8 (on Saint Basil), introduction, p. xliv, noting that Gregory the Theologian was enthroned in Hagia Sophia at the beginning of the Synod.

15. A list of the participants survives.

16. On St. Basil's important contribution to solving the basic question of the difference between *ousia* and *hypostasis* see his treatises *On the Holy Spirit* and *Against Eunomios*, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 8, pp. 1, 23, 33. Also cf. Jedin, *Centuries*, pp. 64-67, on "The Young Nicenes," Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Theologian, and Amphilochios of Ikonion, all of whose theological work prepared the decisions on the faith at the Synod of Constantinople in 381.

17. See Theodoretos in PG 82. 1208 (*Ecclesiastical History* v. 7). Cf. Ortiz de Urbina, *Nicée et Constantinople* (Paris, 1963) p. 172.

18. See Jedin, *Imperial Centuries*, p. 71, citing the contemporary or near-contemporary historians Sokrates and Sozomenos.

19. On Maximos the Cynic and the Alexandrian intrigues, see O. de Urbina, Nicée, pp. 164-65. On the church of Greogry's installation, see ibid., p. 168. Gregory himself in his farewell address speaks of the Church of the Holy Apostles and in his (short) *Autobiography*, says he was installed in the Church of the Holy Apostles (not Hagia Sophia).

20. See de Urbina, *ibid.* p. 175.

21. Canon 2 of the Synod of Constantinople, it is generally agreed, was directed against Alexandria and Rome's interference in affairs of other Eastern sees. For text and discussion see H. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis-London, 1937) pp. 64-65.

22. For the text of Gregory the Theologian's oration given on the arrival of the Egyptians see *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 7, pp. 334-37.

23. On canon 15, see Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, pp. 44-46.

24. See Jedin, *Imperial Centuries*, p. 62f. and J. Quasten, *Patrology*

(Utrecht, 1966) 3, pp. 237-38.

25. See Gregory's oration "The Last Farewell," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 7,385-95, esp. p. 394.

26. On Nektarios' election, see Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.8 Cf. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 71 and de Urbina, *Nicée*, p. 179, who says Nektarios was then a senator from Tarsos.

27. The creed of Nikaia reads: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten from the Father, only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made... And in the Holy Spirit..."

28. See Jedin, *Imperial Centuries*, p. 71, who cites references from the Greek church historians.

29. Jedin, *ibid.* p. 71. It is to be noted that Sozomenos and Sokrates place the negotiations with the Macedonians *before* the beginning of the synod. Yet they limit the opposition of the Macedonians (only) to the *homoousios* of Nikaia, though Gregory the Theologian, *Carmen de vita sua*, in PG 37: 1739-77, denies this. Cf. J. N. Kelly, *Early Church Creeds* (London, 1972) p. 327, citing Ritter, who believes the initiative for the negotiations with the Macedonians and for the planning of the line to be followed lay with Theodosios.

30. A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. N. Buchanan (New York, 1961), 4, pp. 117-20.

31. See St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 8, pp. 2-50; and *Against Eunomios* in PG 29. 497-669.

32. Gregory says the distinctive characteristics of the three divine persons are *ἀγεννησία*, *γέννησις*, and *ἐκπόρευσις* (or *ἔκπεμψις*) (Oration 25.16; Oration 26.19). Gregory also says: "The proper name of the unoriginate is Father; and that of the unoriginately begotten is Son; and that of the unbegottenly proceeding or going forth is the Holy Spirit" (Oration 30.19). Gregory is fully aware he contributed the term 'procession.'

33. On this difficult question see especially the best and most recent summary and explanation in Kelly, *Creeds* p. 289ff, and *passim.* Also Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* pp. 71-72. The earlier views, especially of Harnack and others, are now not accepted.

34. See Kelly, *Creeds* p. 331. Also J. Lebon, "Les anciens symboles dans la définition de Chalcédoine," in *Revue d' histoire ecclésiastique* 32 (1936) 860.

35. See *The Theodosian Code* 16.1.3.

36. See the fine summary in Kelly, *Creeds* pp. 313-31, especially p. 316 (based on A. M. Ritter's excellent work on the Constantinopolitan creed, pp. 322-31). The Fathers at Constantinople did not see themselves as promulgating a new creed; they simply hoped to *confirm* the Nicene faith. Ritter stresses that, however paradoxical it seems to us, they really adopted a differ-

ent formula from Nikaia, but we should recall that at that time importance was attached to the Nicene *teaching* rather than to the *literal wording* of Nikaia (Kelly, *Creeds* p. 325).

37. See especially Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* pp. 76-78. This is the common view.

38. See e.g., A. von Harnack in *Revue Ecclésiastique*, 3rd. ed. 11, pp. 12-28; also F. J. Hort, *Two Dissertations* (Cambridge, 1876) pp. 54-72. On all these see Kelly, *Creeds*, especially pp. 313-22.

39. Ch. Papadopoulos, *Das Symbol der 2. ökumenischen Synode* (Athens, 1924).

40. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 72; de Urbina, *Nicée* p. 187.

41. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* pp. 73-74 and Kelly, *Creeds* p. 304f.

42. Gregory the Theologian, *Carmen de vita sua* PG 37. 1148ff.

43. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homélies catéchetiques 9 et 10*, ed. Tonneau-R. Devreese (Rome, 1949) pp. 215ff. (Homily 10). Also cf. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 72 and Kelly, *Creeds* p. 321.

44. See de Urbina, *Nicée* pp. 214-17; also Kelly, *Creeds* pp. 323ff.

45. Kelly, *Early Creeds* pp. 298ff.

46. See St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit*, chapter 21. Basil refers to Paul's Letter to the Thessalonians (2 Thes 3.5): May the Lord direct your hearts to the love of God and the steadfastness of Christ." See also Corinthians 3.17. Also John 15.26: "But when the counselor comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness to me." Also John 14.26: "But the counselor, the Holy Spirit whom the Father will send in my name."

47. See Gregory's *Oration* No. 2 in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 7, pp. 319-20.

48. Ibid. p. 320.

49. Ibid. p. 321.

50. On these terms and their use see discussion in Kelly, *Creeds* pp. 322-23; Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* pp. 73-74; and de Urbina, *Nicée* pp. 199-203.

51. St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit* in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, chap. 24, pp. 35-36.

52. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 74.

53. Ibid.

54. Gregory the Theologian, *On the Holy Spirit* p. 326.

55. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 74 and especially de Urbina, *Nicée* p. 203.

56. Athanasios, *Epistle to Serapion* 1.31 in PG v.26. Cf. de Urbina, *Nicée* p. 203.

57. See Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 74.

58. Cited in ibid. p. 74. Some scholars believe the Creed was discussed *before* the Macedonians' departure from the synod (see above note 29).

59. I. Karmires, *Τά δογματικά καί συμβολικά Μνημεῖα* (Athens, 1960) pp. 132-33. Cf. de Urbina, *Nicée* p. 206. Cf. Stephanides, *'Ιστορία* p. 182.

60. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* pp. 75-76; also Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees* pp. 63-68.

61. Canon cited in Schroeder, *Decrees* p. 63. For all four canons quoted see Ch. Hefele, *History of the Councils of the Church* (Edinburgh, 1876), trans. H. Oxenham, 2, pp. 353-69. Note there, that a distinction is made between Arians and Eunomians, and between Semi-Arians and the Pneumatomachians. Marcellus of Ankyra, originally a strong supporter of the Nicene creed, now believed God was of one *person* (one *hypostasis*) only.

62. On Apollinarios, see V. Stephanides, *'Εκκλησιαστική ἱστορία* pp. 191-92.

63. Quoted in Schroeder, *Decrees* p. 64 and Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 75.

64. Cf. Schroeder, *Decrees* pp. 64-65.

65. Ibid. pp. 65-67.

66. See Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* pp. 75-76.

67. Gregory the Theologian, "The Last Farewell," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1894), 7, pp. 394-95.

68. On *accomodatio*, see especially F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966) pp. 29-31. Dvornik (p. 31) stresses that Rome itself had previously accepted canon 4 of Nikaia, that ecclesiastical organization be modeled on political organization. See also Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 74: "In this canon one can hardly discover any anti-Roman spite. . . . "

69. J. Karmires, *Μνημεῖα* 1, p. 113.

70. See Schroeder, *Decrees*, especially pp. 67-68. Cf. Lübeck, *Die Weihe d. Cynikers Maximus zum Bischof von Konstantinopel in ihrer Veranlassung dargestellt* (Fulda, 1907); and Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz der Theologe* (Gotha, 1866) pp. 137-42.

71. Catholic historians do not view it as a rebuke to Rome: see Schroeder, *Decrees* pp. 65-67.

72. Obviously the thirty-six Macedonian Fathers were absent as were a few others. The Synod of 382 was evidently called primarily to resolve the schism of Antioch. Rome, immediately after the Synod of 381 (and before 382) called for a synod to meet, but the East rejected this.

73. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 77, citing Theodoretos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.9, 13, 15.

74. Edict (Novel 132, 1) cited in Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 77, n. 91. Cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma* p. 217.

75. Jedin, *Imperial Centuries* p. 77 (Ep. 4.25).

76. Mansi, 22.989-92 (de Urbina, *Nicée* p. 237).

77. For canon 28 see Schroeder, *Decrees* p. 25: "And (we decree) therefore that in the dioceses of Pontos, Asia, Thrace, the metropolitans only . . .

shall be ordained by the aforesaid most holy see of the most holy church at Constantinople . . . but the metropolitans of the aforesaid dioceses, as has been said, shall be ordained by the archbishop of Constantinople after the proper elections have been held according to custom and reported to him."

78. See the Catholic writer F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* p. 47-51. "Canon 3 merely brings conformity to a practice (*accomodatio*) all had accepted as regular." "The Pope was angered at canon 28 of Chalcedon because in it no mention was made of the Apostolicity or the Petrine character of Rome." Canon 28 text in Karmires, *Μνημεῖα* p. 176. Cf. Schroeder, *Decrees* p. 126 especially, which says (as the Roman church believes) that by Canon 28 Constantinople "was granted the rights and privileges of a patriarch in violation of canonical prescriptions."

79. See St. Basil, *On the Spirit,* 1-3 and Gregory, *Oration* 5.12, 28.

80. St. Athanasios, *Epistle to Serapion* 1.31 (cf. de Urbina, *Nicée* p. 202).

81. See J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) pp. 258ff.; and D. Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Roman Churches," in *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966) p. 102.

82. Stephanides, *Ἱστορία* p. 244. Harnack, *History of Dogma* p. 447.

83. On the title ecumenical (but referring essentially only to the Byzantine East) see Dvornik, *Byzantium* p. 80.

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† ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΕΛΕῼ ΘΕΟΥ
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ, ΝΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ

ΠΑΝΤΙ Τῼ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ
ΧΑΡΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΘΕΟΥ

1. «ΜΕΓΑΣ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ὄντως καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ»[1], καὶ «οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐξαρκέσει πρὸς ὕμνον τῶν θαυμασίων αὐτοῦ». Μέγας, ὅτι «πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν»[2]. Μέγας εἰς ὅσα ἐξαίσια καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε καὶ ποιεῖ περὶ τὴν Ἁγίαν Αὐτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν «ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ αἵματος»[3]. Μέγας καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θαυμασίοις, ὅσα ὑφαίνουσι τὴν ζωὴν τῶν πιστῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα «ἀπὸ Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι» καὶ «τὸ κατασκευάζον ἡμᾶς ἓν σῶμα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναγεννῶν ἡμᾶς τὸ ἓν Πνεῦμά ἐστιν». Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ συγκροτοῦν τὸν ὅλον θεσμὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. «Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα παρῆν, οὐκ ἂν συνέστη ἡ Ἐκκλησία· εἰ δὲ συνίσταται ἡ Ἐκκλησία, εὔδηλον ὅτι Πνεῦμα πάρεστι»[4]. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἐν ναῷ, τὸ ἀδιαλείπτως ἁγιάζον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ὁδηγοῦν αὐτὴν «εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν»[5].

2. Μιᾶς τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκφάνσεων καὶ παρουσιῶν τοῦ Μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπέτειον ἑορτάζει σήμερον ἡ Ἀποστολικὴ καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐν τῇ σὺν Θεῷ, συμπληρώσει 1600 ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήσεως τῆς Ἁγίας Β΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, τῆς συνελθούσης, ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ 381ῳ, ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἡμῶν ταύτῃ, τῇ καὶ Βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων καὶ πρώτῃ Καθέδρᾳ τῆς κατ' Ἀνατολὰς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας.

Θαυμαστὸν ὑπῆρξε τὸ ἔργον τῆς Συνόδου ταύτης ἀδελφοὶ περισπούδαστοι καὶ τέκνα ἡμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητά. Διὸ καὶ ἡ χαρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπετείῳ ταύτῃ, ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ εὐγνώμονα καὶ εὐλαβῆ ἐκφράζομεν αἰσθήματα τῷ Δομήτορι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Χριστῷ, τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑορτάσαι καὶ συνεορτάσαι, ἀγαλλομένῃ ψυχῇ καὶ παλλούσῃ καρδίᾳ, τὴν τιμίαν ταύτης ἐπέτειον.

Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν.

3. Θαυμαστόν, λέγομεν, ὑπῆρξε τὸ ἔργον τῆς Συνόδου, σωτηριωδῶς συναφθὲν πρὸς τὰ προκαλέσαντα ἀρνητικά, ὡς μὴ ὤφελε, ἐκκλησιαστικὰ γεγονότα τῆς τότε ἐποχῆς, καὶ ἔτι οἰκοδομητικώτερον ἐπεκταθέν, τῇ Χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ 16 ὅλων αἰώνων, ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν

†DEMETRIOS
BY THE MERCY OF GOD,
ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NEW ROME,
AND ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH

TO THE WHOLE *PLEROMA* OF THE CHURCH
GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD

1. "GREAT IS THE LORD indeed and wonderful are his works," [1] and "no words will suffice to praise his wonders." *Great* is he "because he wants all men to be saved and to come to full knowledge of the truth." [2] *Great* is he in all the marvelous and wonderful things he has already done and continues to do within his holy Church, "which he nurtured with his own blood." [3] *Great* is he also in all the wonderful things which weave together the life of the faithful members of the Church.

All these come "from God through Christ in the Holy Spirit," and "he who builds us up to become one body and regenerates us is the one Spirit." This Holy Spirit constitutes the entire institution of the Church. "If the Spirit had not been present, the Church would not have been formed; but as the Church is constituted, it is obvious that the Spirit is present." [4] The Holy Spirit dwells in the Church and in the hearts of men as in a temple, and unceasingly sanctifies the Church and leads her to the whole truth." [5]

2. The holy anniversary of the Second Ecumenical Synod, one of the manifestations and revelations through the Holy Spirit of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ to his Church, is celebrated today by the Apostolic and Ecumenical Church of Constantinople upon the completion, by God's will, of 1600 years from the convocation of that holy Synod, which was summoned in the year of salvation 381 in this our City, being royal among the cities and first *Kathedra* of the Orthodox Church in the East.

Wonderful was the work of this Synod, our distinguished brothers and children beloved in the Lord. For this reason the Church's joy is great on this anniversary, on which we express gratitude and devotion to Christ the Builder of the Church, who has made us worthy, both ourselves and yourselves, to celebrate together this honorable occasion with joyful soul and heart.

Glory to God for all these.

3. We call the work of the Synod wonderful because it came as a saving act on account of destructive events in the Church at that time which, although they should not have happened, made the Synod necessary. We call it wonderful also because the work of the Synod has been extended by the grace of God as a constructive factor in the life of

Ἐκκλησιῶν Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, διὰ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λύσεων καὶ ἀποφάνσεων αὐτῆς, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ κυρίως διὰ τοῦ κοινῇ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀπαγγελλομένου καὶ καθομολογουμένου Συμβόλου τῆς Πίστεως, καὶ ἔκτοτε ὡς Συμβόλου Νικαίας—Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γνωριζομένου καὶ ὡς τοιούτου τιμωμένου ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν Ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησιῶν.

4. Οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐξαρκέσει σήμερον, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα, πρὸς ὕμνον τῶν θαυμασίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ γεγονότι τούτῳ.

Ἰδού, 16 ὅλοι αἰῶνες διέρρευσαν, ἀφ' ὅτου ἡ Σύνοδος ἐκείνη συνεκλήθη ἐνταῦθα, ἐν τῷ Ναῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Εἰρήνης, ὡς αἱ παλαιαὶ ἐν προκειμένῳ μαρτυροῦσι πηγαί. «Εὐαγῆ εὐκτήριον» χαρακτηρίζει τὸν Ναὸν ὁ ἱερὸς χρονογράφος καὶ ἐπώνυμον τῆς «ὁμονοίας» ἀποκαλεῖ τὴν περιοχὴν ἔνθα συνεκλήθη ἡ Σύνοδος, καθ' ἣν οἱ ταύτην συγκροτήσαντες ἐξήγγειλαν «κοινήν τινα καὶ συμπεφωνημένην διδασκαλίαν», ἐξ οὗ καὶ «ἐντεῦθεν αὕτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία»[6].

Προσκλήσει τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Μεγάλου ἐγένετο ἡ σύγκλησις, «κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τῆς εὐσεβείας» τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος[7], καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐχὶ κατά τι ἕτερον δίκαιον ἐξωεκκλησιαστικόν, ἀλλὰ συνῳδὰ προηγουμένως ἰσχύσαντι ἔθει, ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μεγάλου, ὅστις τῇ διαγνώμῃ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ταγῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας[8] συνεκάλεσε τὴν Α΄ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικὴν Σύνοδον.

«Τοὺς τῆς οἰκείας δὲ ἡγεμονίας ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν δραμεῖν παρηγγύησεν» διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων του ὁ βασιλεύς[9], ἐκ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Πατέρων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς μόνον συγκροτηθείσης τῆς Συνόδου, πρὸς ἀντιμετώπισιν καὶ λύσιν τῶν θεολογικῶν καὶ διοικητικῶν προβλημάτων τῆς ἐποχῆς.

Ὡλοκλήρωσε δὲ ἡ Σύνοδος τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς εἰς βραχὺ ὄντως διάστημα, ἀπὸ Μαΐου μέχρις Ἰουλίου, ὑπὸ τήν Θείᾳ παραχωρήσει, προεδρείαν τριῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν, Μελετίου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, θανόντος ἐν τῷ μεταξύ, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, καὶ τοῦ τοῦτον διαδεχθέντος ἐν τῷ Θρόνῳ τῆς Πόλεως Πατριάρχου Νεκταρίου.

Περατωθεισῶν δὲ τῶν Θεοπνεύστων ἐργασιῶν τῆς Συνόδου, οἱ Πατέρες αὐτῆς, διὰ γράμματος αὐτῶν, ἀπηυθύνθησαν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ αὖθις, «ἵν' ὥσπερ τοῖς τῆς κλήσεως γράμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετίμηκε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃ τὸ τέλος»[10] τοῦθ' ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.

5. Τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα προῆλθον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν. Ἡ Ἁγία Σύνοδος—πρώτη αὐτὴ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν λοιπῶν Συνόδων—ἐγνώρισε τὸ προνόμιον, εἰς βραχύν που χρόνον, ἓν μόλις ἔτος μετὰ τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐργασιῶν αὐτῆς, νὰ χαρακτηρισθῇ καὶ ἀποκληθῇ «οἰκουμενική» ὑπὸ ἐπισκοπικῆς συνελεύσεως, τῷ 382 συνελθούσης, ἐν τῇ πρωτευούσῃ καὶ αὖθις, καὶ ἀποφηναμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔργου ἐκείνης[11].

Τοῦτο ὑπῆρξε γεγονὸς σπάνιον, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ πρωτοφανές, οἱαδήτις καὶ ἐὰν ἤθελεν εἶναι ἡ βαθυτέρα, κατὰ γράμμα ἢ κατ' ἔννοιαν, σημασία τοῦ ὅρου τούτου. Ἡ Σύνοδος ὄντως ὑπῆρξεν «οἰκουμενική».

the churches of East and West on account of its divinely inspired solutions and deliberations, and especially on account of the Symbol of Faith (the Creed) which is proclaimed and confessed in common by all Christians and has been known since A.D. 381 as the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol, and as such is honored by all the holy churches of God.

4. No words will suffice today, brothers and children, for praising God's wonders in this event.

Behold, sixteen centuries have elapsed since that Synod was summoned here in the Church of the Peace of God (Hagia Eirene), as the ancient sources bear witness. "The charitable house of prayer" is the name by which this church is characterized by the sacred chronographer, who designates the area where the Synod was held as the place of 'concord,' since the members of the Synod declared "a common and commonly agreed teaching"—hence, "this designation." [6]

It was by an invitation of the Emperor Theodosios the Great that the summons was made—"according to the letter of piety" of the Emperor[7] —and not because of some other non-ecclesiastical right, but in accordance with the custom which was first applied under Constantine the Great who, with the common consent of the leaders of the Church surrounding him,[8] summmoned the First Ecumenical Synod at Nikaia.

The emperor sent letters which ordered "the bishops of his own dominion to come to Constantinople." [9] They consisted of one hundred and fifty Fathers of the East only, who were to meet and solve the theological and administrative problems of the time.

The Synod completed its work in a very short span of time indeed, from May to June, under the presidency, according to the will of God, of three holy men: Meletios of Antioch, who died in the meantime; Gregory the Theologian; and his successor to the throne of the City, Patriarch Nektarios.

When the divinely inspired proceedings of the Synod had reached an end, the Fathers addressed themselves to the emperor by means of a letter asking him "to put his seal on the end result of the deliberations as he had honored the Church by the letter of invitation," [10] And this the emperor did.

5. What followed afterwards was of great significance. The holy Synod—the first one in the history of all the other synods—was given the privilege in a very short time, only one year, after the end of its proceedings, to be characterized and designated as 'ecumenical' by an episcopal gathering which took place in the capital in 382 to make a declaration concerning the work of this Synod.[11]

This was a rare, if not entirely novel, event, and whatever the deeper sense of this term might be, whether in its literal or broader sense, the Synod was truly an 'ecumenical' one.

6. It was under such presuppositions and circumstances, our distinguished brothers and beloved children in the Lord, that the holy

6. Ὑπὸ ταύτας τὰς προϋποθέσεις καὶ συνθήκας, ἀδελφοὶ περισπούδαστοι καὶ τέκνα ἡμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητά, συνεκλήθη ἡ Ἁγία Β΄ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Σύνοδος. Ἔθετο δὲ αὕτη ὡς σκοπὸν αὐτῆς σαφῶς τὰ ἑξῆς: τὴν ἀντιμετώπισιν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειανισμοῦ ἀπορρευσασῶν χριστολογικῶν ἐπιπλοκῶν καὶ ἄλλων διαβρωτικῶν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καταστάσεων, τὴν ἀπόκρουσιν καὶ καθαίρεσιν τῆς νέας πνευματομαχικῆς αἱρέσεως τοῦ Μακεδονίου, τὴν σαφῆ καὶ εὐσύνοπτον διατύπωσιν καὶ διακήρυξιν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, τὴν καταδίκην τῶν καταδικαστέων πλανῶν, τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἄλλως μὲν μάλιστα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἔργῳ καθιερώσεως τῆς Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου εἰς τὰ θέματα πίστεως, τὸν περιορισμὸν καὶ τὴν πάταξιν τῶν ὑπερβασιῶν καὶ τὴν ὁριοθέτησιν τῶν κατὰ τόπους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαιοδοσιῶν, ἐν τέλει δὲ καὶ τὴν θεμελίωσιν καὶ θεσμικὴν ἀναγνώρισιν τῆς θέσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης ἐν τῷ διοικητικῷ συστήματι τῆς Ἀνατολῆς διὰ τῶν συναφῶν κανόνων.

7. Δὲν ὑπάρχει ἀνάγκη ἄλλως ἐξ ἄλλων πηγῶν νὰ πληροφορηθῶμεν τὰ σύνδρομα ἀρνητικὰ ἐν τῷ συνόλῳ αὐτῶν γεγονότα τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης.

Ὁ Μέγας Βασίλειος, βραχύ τι πρὸ τῆς Συνόδου, διεκτραγωδῶν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειανισμοῦ καὶ τῶν παραφυάδων αὐτοῦ προκύψαντα ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κακὰ καὶ εἰς «διήγησιν τῆς παρούσης τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταστάσεως» προβαίνων, λέγει ἐπιγραμματικῶς: «...ὅπου γε αὔτανδροι ἐκκλησίαι, οἷον ὑφάλοις τισὶ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς δόλοις προσαραχθεῖσαι διεφθάρησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους, παραλαβόντες τοὺς οἴακας, περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐναυάγησαν..., ὅπου γε διὰ πάντων τῆς ἀγάπης ψυγείσης, ἀνήρηνται ἀγαπητικαὶ νουθεσίαι· οὐδαμοῦ σπλάγχνον χριστιανόν, οὐδαμοῦ δάκρυον συμπαθές...»[12].

Ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς βασιλευούσης καταστὰς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔνδον ζήσας τὰ ἐπισωρευθέντα κακά, τὰς δὲ πιέσεις, τοὺς βιασμούς, τὰς καταλήψεις τῶν ναῶν, τὰς δηώσεις, τὴν ὕβριν τῶν θυσιαστηρίων καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν τῶν ἱερῶν μυστηρίων, τοὺς προσωπικοὺς διωγμοὺς καὶ τὰς κακώσεις, τοὺς λιθοβολισμοὺς καὶ τὰς μέχρι θανάτου ἐπιθέσεις τῶν ἀντιπάλων διεκτραγωδῶν, λέγει περὶ τῶν δεινῶν τούτων ὡς «καὶ πέραν τῶν δεινῶν γεγενημένων»[13].

8. Οὐχὶ ἧττονα διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν κίνδυνον ἀπετέλου καὶ οἱ ἀπότοκοι τοῦ Ἀρειανισμοῦ Πνευματομάχοι.

Ὁ Μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, δύο που δεκαετηρίδας πρὸ τῆς Συνόδου, ἐτόνιζε τὴν ἀνάγκην συμπληρώσεως τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Νικαίας ὡς πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον τὸ ἀφορῶν εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνωστὴν προσήλωσιν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν χριστολογικὴν ἐπάρκειαν τοῦ Συμβόλου ἐκείνου.[14]

Ἦτο ὄντως ἐσωτάτη καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνάγκη ἡ σύγκλησις τῆς Β΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, τόσον κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν

6. It was under such presuppositions and circumstances, our distinguished brothers and beloved children in the Lord, that the holy Second Ecumenical Synod was convened in Constantinople. It clearly set out as its scope the following objectives: to deal with the Christological complexities and the other destructive factors introduced into the orthodox faith by Arianism; to refute and annul the new pneumatomachian heresy of Makedonios; to express with clarity and declare with conciseness the orthodox faith and teaching; to condemn the blameworthy errors; to prescribe ecclesiastical order and orderliness in a variety of matters, but especially with respect to the particular commissioning of the Ecumenical Synod to deal with matters of faith; to restrain and punish severely the transgressions of the local churches and to determine the boundaries of their jurisdictional rights; and finally, to lay the foundation for the lawful recognition of the position of the Church of this city in the administrative system of the East through formulating canons.

7. There is no need to look to other sources for information about the negative events as a whole at that time.

Basil the Great, shortly before the Synod, related the tragedy of the evils brought upon the Church because of Arianism and its offshoots; and "in giving an account of the present condition of the churches" he states emphatically, "in some places there are churches which have been entirely corrupted by falling, as it were, on blind rocks through the frauds of the heretics; and others, following the currents of the enemies of the Saving Passion, suffered shipwreck in the faith;...in some places loving admonitions ceased to operate because the love of all grew cold. There is no Christian feeling anywhere, no compassionate tear...." [12]

Gregory the Theologian, who became bishop of the Royal City, experienced from the inside the accumulated evils—the pressures, the violations, the seizure of the church buildings, the pillage, the desecration of the altars and the confusion of the holy mysteries; when recounting his personal persecutions and injuries, the stonings and deadly attacks of his opponents, he speaks of himself in relation to these hardships as "having advanced beyond these." [13]

8. The emergence of the Pneumatomachians, an offspring of Arianism, constituted no lesser danger for the Church.

Athanasios the Great, about two decades before the Synod, emphasized the need for the completion of the Symbol of Nikaia on the article concerning the Holy Spirit, and he said this in spite of his well-known attachment to the Christological sufficiency of that Synod.[14]

The convocation of the Second Ecumenical Synod was truly a deep and essential need of the Church, for it had to refute the various heretics

αἱρετικῶν, οὓς καὶ ἐπωνύμως κατεδίκασεν αὕτη διὰ τοῦ α΄ αὐτῆς κανόνος, ὅσον καὶ κυρίως κατὰ τῶν Πνευματομάχων, οἵτινες καὶ ἐθεωροῦντο ὅτι «οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ψεύδονται θεομαχοῦντες καὶ χριστομαχοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πνευματομαχοῦντες οὐ παύονται»[15], καὶ οἵτινες ὡς «Ἡμιαρειανοὶ» χαρακτηριζόμενοι, «ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ μετέχοντες τῆς τοῦ Ἀρείου αἱρέσεως»[16], «τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα κτίσμα πάλιν κτίσματός φασιν»[17] καὶ «κτίσμα τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα δογματίζουσι καὶ οὐ Θεόν, οὐδ᾽ ὁμοούσιον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ»[18].

9. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ πλατύτερον οἱ Πατέρες τῆς Συνόδου ἐκαλοῦντο, ἵνα διατυπώσωσι τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς θέματα πέραν τοῦ τριαδολογικοῦ χώρου ἐπεκτεινόμενα, οἷα τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Βαπτίσματος, τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἡ Α΄ ἐν Νικαίᾳ οὐδὲν ἀπεφήνατο, τοῦτο σαφῶς τονίζεται ἐν οἷς Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνὸς λέγει, διακριβῶν ὅτι οἱ Πατέρες τῆς Β΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου προῆλθον εἰς τὴν γενομένην προσθήκην ἐν τῷ Συμβόλῳ τῆς Α΄, «προσδιορθοῦντες τὸ ἐλλιπῶς εἰρημένον», ἐφ᾽ ὅσον πρότερον «μηδὲ κεκινῆσθαι τηνικαῦτα τοῦτο τὸ ζήτημα»[19]. Τοῦτο δέ, καθὼς ὥρισαν οἱ Πατέρες τῆς Δ΄ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, «οὐχ ὥς τι λεῖπον τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἐπεισάγοντες, ἀλλὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν κατὰ τῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ δεσποτείαν ἀθετεῖν πειρωμένων γραφικαῖς μαρτυρίαις τρανώσαντες...»[20].

10. Οὕτω προέκυψε καὶ οὕτω διεμορφώθη τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, εὐρύτερον, σαφέστερον, ὁριστικῶς πλέον ὡλοκληρωμένον.

Ἀνεξαρτήτως πόθεν καὶ πῶς ἡ συνείδησις τῆς ὅλης Χριστιανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἤχθη εἰς τὴν διαμόρφωσιν καὶ βίωσιν τοῦ Συμβόλου τούτου, ἀναντίρρητον τυγχάνει ὅτι οἱ θεοπνεύστως σφραγίσαντες τοῦτο διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς αὐθεντίας αὐτῶν Πατέρες τῆς Συνόδου, οὐδόλως ὤκνησαν ἵνα διακηρύξωσιν, ὅτι διὰ τούτου «...πλατύτερον τὴν πίστιν ὡμολόγησαν»[21], ἔχοντες βαθυτάτην συνείδησιν, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς πάντες, ὅτι ὑπὸ τὴν διατύπωσιν τοῦ κειμένου τούτου δέον νὰ διαβλέπηται ἐφ᾽ ἑξῆς ἡ ὕπαρξις δύο ἀλληλοσυμπληρουμένων, σαφῶν δέ, «ἐκθέσεων πίστεως» τῶν Πατέρων, «τῶν τε ἐν Νικαίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνελθόντων»[22].

11. Διὸ καὶ ὡς τοιαῦτα τὰ Σύμβολα Νικαίας καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀνεγνώσθησαν καὶ ἐκυρώθησαν ἐν τῇ Δ΄ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι Οἰκουμενικῇ Συνόδῳ πανηγυρικῶς, καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐχὶ κατὰ παρατυχὸν οἱοδήτι χειρόγραφον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ταῦτα ἦσαν κατεστρωμένα εἰς τὰς ἐπισήμους «Βίβλους» τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. «...Καὶ Ἀέτιος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος διάκονος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ βιβλίου ἀνέγνω οὕτως· ἡ ἁγία πίστις, ἣν ἐξέθεντο οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες ρν΄, συμφωνοῦσα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ...»[23]. Καὶ «πάντες οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐπεβόησαν. Αὕτη πάντων πίστις· αὕτη πίστις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων· οὕτω πάντης πιστεύομεν».

who were condemned by name in its first canon and especially the Pneumatomachians, who were seen to be "not only lying against God and the Son by fighting God and Christ, but also incessantly fighting the Holy Spirit," [15] and who were characterized as "semi-Arians," "as partakers in half of the heresy of Arios," [16] and as those who "again speak of the Spirit as a creature of a creature" [17] and who "put forward the dogma that the Holy Spirit is a creature and not God, nor consubstantial with Father and Son." [18]

9. That the Fathers of the Synod were called to a wider task; namely, to formulate the teaching of the Church on topics beyond the area of the doctrine of the Trinity, such as those concerning the Church, the sacrament of baptism, and faith in the resurrection of the dead and eternal life, on which the First Synod in Nikaia had said nothing, is plainly stressed in Gregory the Theologian's statement which verifies the fact that the Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Synod proceeded to make the addition to the Symbol of the First Synod "by correcting what was imperfectly said," since "previously the matter had not been raised at all." [19] This was done, as the Fathers of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod in Chalkedon stated, "not as introducing something missing from what was previously provided, but as demonstrating more clearly with scriptural witnesses its articles concerning the Holy Spirit against those who attempted to diminish his dominion."

10. Thus, the Symbol of Constantinople was produced and formulated more broadly, more clearly, and definitely more completely.

Independently of where and how the conscience of the entire Christian Church was led to the formation and adoption of this Symbol, it remains incontestable that those divinely inspired Fathers of the Synod, who sealed it by their faith and authority, showed absolutely no hesitation in declaring that through this "they confessed the faith in a broader sense." [21] They were deeply aware, both themselves and all those with them, that with the formulation of this text; henceforth the existence of two mutually complementary and clear 'expositions of faith' should be seen, namely those of the Fathers who came together at Nikaia and Constantinople." [22]

11. Therefore, the Symbols of Nikaia and Constantinople were read and sanctioned in a panegyric fashion by the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalkedon, and that was not done haphazardly on the basis of any manuscript, but as they were recorded in the official books of the Church. "And Aetios, the most devout deacon of Constantinople, read from a book as follows: the holy faith which the holy one hundred fifty Fathers expounded and which agrees with the holy and great Synod summoned at Nikaia..." [23] And "all the most devout bishops cried aloud. This is the faith of all; this is the faith of the Orthodox, thus we all believe."

12. Ἔκτοτε ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔσχεν ὁριστικῶς τὸ ἑαυτῆς «Σύμβολον Πίστεως», σύμβολον ἑνιαῖον, ἀξιωματικῶς ἐκφράζον τὴν ἑνιαίαν πίστιν συνόλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σύμβολον εὐρυτέρας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς χρήσεως, βεβαιοῦν καὶ μαρτυροῦν τὴν πίστιν τῆς τε ποιμαινούσης καὶ ποιμαινομένης ἐκκλησίας, ἥτις καὶ ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπην ὡς προϋπόθεσιν τῆς κοινῆς ὁμολογίας, κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀναφορᾷ τῆς Θείας Εὐχαριστίας ἐκφώνησιν: «ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἵνα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ὁμολογήσωμεν».

13. Ἰδού, ἀδελφοὶ περισπούδαστοι καὶ τέκνα ἀγαπητὰ ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἡ σημασία καὶ ἡ βαρύτης τοῦ ἔκτοτε κληροδοτηθέντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Συμβόλου τῆς Πίστεως, ὅπερ καὶ ἀπέβη κείμενον καθολικοῦ κύρους. «...Πάντες οἱ λαοὶ τοῦ σωτηριώδους ἀξιούμενοι βαπτίσματος, αὐτὸ καὶ μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες βαπτίζονται»[24].

Τούτου τὸ ἀνόθευτον, τὸ ἄθικτον, τὸ ἀκίβδηλον ὑποχρεοῦνται νὰ διασφαλίσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ Γ΄ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος ἐκήρυξεν ἄθικτον εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Α΄ ἐν Νικαίᾳ, ὁρίσασα «μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἑτέραν πίστιν προφέρειν, ἤγουν συγγράφειν ἢ συντιθέναι, παρὰ τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων...»[25], οὕτω καὶ ἡ Δ΄ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, καὶ πᾶσαι ἀνεξαιρέτως αἱ μετὰ ταύτην Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι, ἐκήρυξαν τὸ ἀνόθευτον καὶ ἀκίβδηλον τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως[26].

14. Διὸ καὶ ἡ ἱστορικῶς πολλῷ μεταγενεστέρα, καὶ θεολογικῶς ἥκιστα εὐσταθοῦσα, πολυμερῶς δὲ καὶ καταπολεμηθεῖσα, καὶ πρόξενος πολλῶν διχοστασιῶν ἀποβᾶσα ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν σχέσεων μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως προσθήκη τοῦ ἀντιπαραδοσιακῶς, ὡς μὴ ὤφελε, ὑπεισαχθέντος κατασκευάσματος τοῦ «καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ» («Filioque»), ἐν τῷ θέματι τῆς αἰωνίου ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ἤτοι οὐχὶ ἐξ ἑνιαίας ἐν τῇ θεότητι πηγῆς καὶ μοναδικῆς αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἐθεωρήθη ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ παραδόσεως τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ὡς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον, θέμα διχοστασίας, ἔρις ἐπὶ αἰῶνας ἀλλοτριώσασα τὰς δύο Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀποβᾶσα—κατὰ Φώτιον εἰπεῖν—«κακῶν κορωνὶς»[27] διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὡς τοιαύτη παντάπασιν ἀπαράδεκτος καὶ ἀπόβλητος.

15. Δὲν θὰ ἐπεκταθῇ ἡ Ἁγία ἡμῶν Ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ ἑορταστικῷ τούτῳ Κειμένῳ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ ἀρνητικὰ καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην σκιερὰ τοῦ θέματος τούτου σημεῖα.

Θλίβεται διὰ τὸ προσγενόμενον τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθόλου κακὸν ἐν προκειμένῳ.

Οὐχ ἧττον ὅμως καὶ εὔκαιρον θεωρεῖ, ἵνα ἐκφράσῃ ἐκ παραλλήλου καὶ τὴν ἱκανοποίησιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῇ διαπιστώσει, ὅτι σοβαραὶ μελέται, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μεταξὺ πανταχόθεν ἀναληφθεῖσαι καὶ ἐν ἀντικειμενικότητι προωθηθεῖσαι καὶ προωθούμεναι, ἄγουσιν ἤδη τὴν διδάσκουσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἑκασταχοῦ, καὶ μέλλουσιν ὁδηγῆσαι, ὡς ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν ἐλπίζει, καὶ τὰς ποιμαινούσας Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τό-

12. Ever since then, the Church of Christ has had a definitive 'Symbol of Faith,' a unified symbol expressing axiomatically the unified faith of the whole Church, a symbol of wide ecclesiastical use confirming and witnessing the faith of the Church which leads through pastors and is led by them and which demands love for one another as the presupposition of the common confession; according to the acclamation in the anaphora of the holy Eucharist, "Let us love one another, that we may confess in concord."

13. Behold, distinguished brothers and beloved children in the Lord, the meaning and gravity of the Symbol of Faith, which since then has been inherited by the Church and which has come to be a text of catholic authority. "All the peoples, who are made worthy to receive saving baptism, are baptized by receiving this Symbol alone." [24]

It is the duty of the Church of Christ to make sure that this Symbol is kept unfalsified, undamaged and unadulterated. As the Third Ecumenical Synod at Ephesos proclaimed, undamaged for ever the Symbol of the Fathers gathered at Nikaia, ordering "that no one has the authority to offer, i.e., to write or compose another faith other than that ordered by the holy Fathers." [25] Likewise, the Fourth Synod at Chalkedon and all the ecumenical synods which followed it without exception proclaimed the unfalsified and unadulterated Symbol of Constantinople.[26]

14. Hence, the historically very late, theologically least sound and untraditional addition, which should not have occurred and which was fought against in many places and became the cause of much dissension in the history of the relations between East and West; namely, the intrusion of the construction "and from the Son" (*Filioque*) into the theme of the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father (i.e., not from a single source and unique cause in the Godhead, but from two), was regarded by the Orthodox Church and tradition of the East as a point of contradiction, a subject of dissension, a dispute which for centuries alienated the two churches and in this came to be, in the expression of Photios, "the apex of evils"[27] for the Church of Christ and, as such, altogether unacceptable and rejectable.

15. Our holy Church will not elaborate upon the negative and necessarily shadowy aspects of this matter in this festal text.

She is grieved by the extent of the evil which this dispute has brought upon the Church.

However, she does not regard it as any less opportune to express, on the other hand, her satisfaction on the ascertainment that in the meantime serious studies have been undertaken and have been and are being advanced objectively, already leading the teaching Church everywhere and, as our Church hopes, destined to lead the local churches of God

πους εἰς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ κειμένου τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Πίστεως, ἤτοι εἰς τὴν ἀνόθευτον πρωταρχικὴν αὐτοῦ σύνταξιν καὶ μορφήν, ἄνευ τῆς προσθήκης καὶ ἄνευ τῶν παρομαρτησασῶν σχολαστικῶν—καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ σχολαίων—τῆς ἀφῃρημένης θεολογίας «θέσεων» καὶ «ἀντιθέσεων» ἐν προκειμένῳ.

Εὔχεται δὲ καὶ προσεύχεται, ὅλῃ αὐτῆς ψυχῇ, ὅπως ὁ Οὐράνιος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Δομήτωρ φωτίσῃ πάντας, ἵνα οἱ πάντες εὑρεθῶμεν πλήρως συμπίπτοντες εἰς τὴν μίαν καὶ ἀκεραίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἕνα Κύριον καὶ τὸν Παράκλητον Αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν.

16. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Πίστεως ἡμῶν, ὅπερ οἱ Ἅγιοι Πατέρες τῆς Ἁγίας ταύτης Συνόδου ἐξύφαναν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς τὸ παντελές.

Ἀλλ' οἱ Πατέρες, δι' ὧν θεοπνεύστως ἐθέσπισαν, οὐ μόνον ἐπανήγαγον τὴν πίστιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν ὀρθὴν αὐτῆς βάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προετύπωσαν καὶ καθιέρωσαν τὸν τρόπον ἀσκήσεως τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς αὐθεντίας, παρασχόντες τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ φερέγγυον πνευματολογικὸν καὶ ἐκκλησιολογικὸν κριτήριον τῆς τοιαύτης αὐθεντίας ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἐν τῷ ὑπευθύνῳ ἔργῳ τοῦ ὀρθοτομεῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἤτοι εἰς θέματα πίστεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, ἀποφαίνεται ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, διὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῆς, ἐν Συνόδοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ Οἰκουμενικαῖς, καὶ οὐχὶ ἄλλως, ἐν ἀπολύτῳ συλλογικῇ συνυπευθυνότητι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ποιμένων, ἐκπροσωπούντων τὸ ὅλον Πλήρωμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἑρμηνευόντων ὀρθῶς καὶ ὁλοκλήρως τὴν κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνείδησιν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας βιουμένην ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ διδασκαλίαν.

17. Τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης παραδόσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας κληροδόχοι καὶ λειτουργοὶ ὑπάρχοντες, εὔκαιρον ἡγούμεθα, ἐπὶ τῇ εὐσήμῳ ταύτῃ ἐπετείῳ, ὑπομνῆσαι μὲν ταύτην ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν χρέους, ὑπογραμμίσαι δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Χριστιανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ Ὁμολογιῶν διαλεγομένοις εἰς ἀποσαφήνισιν τῶν θεολογικῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιολογικῶν θέσεων τῆς κατ' Ἀνατολὰς Χριστιανωσύνης, διακηρυττομένου τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἱερώτατος καὶ ἄριστος ἄμβων κοινῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ κοινῆς μαρτυρίας τῆς μιᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως εἶναι ἡ διὰ τῶν Πατέρων τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων διατυπωθεῖσα πίστις τῆς Μιᾶς καὶ Ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

18. Ἀλλ' ἡ Ἁγία αὕτη Β΄ Οἰκουμενικὴ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Σύνοδος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τάξιν ἀπέβλεψεν, ἐν οἷς ὥρισε καὶ ἐψήφισε διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων αὐτῆς.

Καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ β΄ κανόνος αὐτῆς, ὡς γνωστόν, ὡριοθέτησε τὰς διοικητικὰς ἐποπτείας καὶ δικαιοδοσίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ἀποκλείσασα τὰς ὑπερβασίας καὶ ἀποφηναμένη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν περιφερειακαῖς συνόδοις διευθετήσεως τῶν ἀναφυομένων διαφορῶν.

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ γ΄ κανόνος αὐτῆς ἐθεσμοθέτησε τὰ «πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς» τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὁρίσασα ἐπὶ λέξει: «Τὸν

to the restoration of the original text of the Symbol of Faith, that is, to its unfalsified initial composition and form, without the addition and without the consequential scholastic—and therefore redundant—theses and antitheses of abstract theology in this case.

She wishes and prays wholeheartedly that the Heavenly Builder of the Church may enlighten all, so that all of us may be found fully concurring in the one, unchanged faith and confession of the one Lord and his Paraclete.

16. All this has been said with regard to our Symbol of Faith which the holy Fathers of this Holy Synod wove together and handed down to the Church for ever.

But the divinely inspired Fathers, by what they instituted, not only brought the faith of the Church back to its right basis, but also preformulated and established the manner in which ecclesiastical authority is exercised providing, at the same time, the sure and reliable pneumatological and ecclesiological criterion of such an authority in the Church.

In her responsible task of rightly proclaiming the word of the truth, that is, in matters of faith and teaching, the Church decides in the Holy Spirit, through the bishops, in synods, especially in ecumenical ones, and not otherwise. This is done with the absolute consultative co-responsibility of her pastors, representing the entire fullness of the Church and interpreting rightly and fully the apostolic tradition and teaching which is lived in the common consciousness and witness of the Church.

17. As inheritors and administrators of this holy tradition and teaching, we have taken the opportunity of this notable anniversary to remind you of it, as is our duty, and also to emphasize it to those from among the other Christian churches and confessions who are engaged in dialogue with us for the purpose of clarifying the theological and ecclesiological positions of Christianity in the East; and we declare unto all that the holiest, best pulpit of common confession and witness of the one faith in Christ is the faith of the one and undivided Church of Christ, which was formulated by the Fathers of the Ecumenical Synods.

18. But the holy Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople also concerned itself with order in the Church, by what it ordained and decided through its sacred canons.

On the one hand, in its second canon, as it is known, this Synod set the limits for the administrative supervision and jurisdiction of the bishops of the East, excluding excesses and declaring in favor of straightening out the emerging differences by means of regional synods.

On the other hand, in its third canon the Synod instituted the 'seniority

μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ρώμην»[28].

19. Μηδεὶς ἀμφιβαλλέτω περὶ τῆς σπουδαιότητος καὶ τοῦ καιρίου χαρακτῆρος τοῦ κανόνος τούτου δι' ὁλόκληρον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

Εἶναι γνωστὰ τὰ γεγονότα, τὰ ὁδηγήσαντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πράγματα ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ, ἀπὸ τῆς Α' ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου μέχρι τῆς Β' ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.

Τὰ γεγονότα ταῦτα «ἔργῳ» προοδοποιήσαντα τὰ καὶ «δικαίῳ» ὕστερον θεσμοθετηθέντα, ἀπέδειξαν ὅτι αἱ διατάξεις καὶ τὰ ταύτας ὁρίζοντα κείμενα δὲν προηγοῦνται τῶν ἱστορικῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλ' ὅτι, ὅλως ἀντιθέτως, τὰ γεγονότα καὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν ἔνδον βιούμεναι καταστάσεις, μετουσιοῦνται σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ εἰς διατυπώσεις καὶ θεσπίσματα, ἅτινα ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ ἐπιωάλλονται καὶ ἐπικρατοῦν, ὅσῳ ἀνταποκρίνονται πρὸς τὴν κατὰ κοινὴν συνείδησιν καὶ ἀποδοχὴν κρατοῦσαν τάξιν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

20. Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Ἅγιοι Πατέρες τῆς Β' ταύτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου διὰ τοῦ τύπου «πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς», ὃν ἐθέσπισαν, ἀνεγνώρισαν ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν τὴν εὐρυτέρως ἰσχύουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ κατάστασιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὁρμηθέντες μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καταστατικῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θέσεως τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀποβλέψαντες δ' ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῶν καιρικῶν ὑπαγορεύσεων ἱεραρχικὴν δομὴν τῆς κατὰ Ἀνατολὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ καθόλου συστήματι τῆς Μιᾶς, Ἁγίας, Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

21. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ Θεοπνεύστῳ προοπτικῇ, ἡ ἀπόφασις τῆς Β' ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου διὰ τὸν Θρόνον τοῦτον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως δὲν ἦτο ἁπλῆ τιμητική τις φιλοφρόνησις, ἢ διάκρισις προβαδίσματος.

Ἀλλ' ἦτο ἀναγνώρισις τῆς ἤδη ἐν ἐκκλησιολογικῇ λειτουργίᾳ βιουμένης ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον συνεχιζομένης, πάντοτε δὲ ἐν συναφείᾳ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ πρὸς τὴν καθόλου Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑφισταμένης, ἱεραρχικῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως, ἐντὸς τῆς ὁποίας ἡ Ἐκκλησία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκαλεῖτο εἰς προσφορὰν μαρτυρίας καὶ διακονίας καὶ κοινωνίας «...ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων»[29], «εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ὅλου σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ»[30].

22. Οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, διὰ τοῦ γ' τούτου κανόνος τῆς Ἁγίας ταύτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐπιβληθέντος εἰς αὐτὸν χρέους πρὸς διακονίαν κύρους, ἐκαλεῖτο ἐφ' ἑξῆς εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν ὡρισμένων πρωτοβουλιῶν καὶ εὐθυνῶν, οὐχὶ αὐτοβούλων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ κανόνος ἀπορρεουσῶν, ἵνα ἀποβαίνῃ, ὡς καὶ ὄντως ἀπέβη, παράγων ρυθμιστικὸς ἐν τῇ ἐπιβολῇ καὶ παγιώσει τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως.

23. Οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη νὰ ἐνδιατρίψωμεν μακρηγοροῦντες περὶ τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν λαλοῦντα.

of honor' of the bishop of Constantinople, ordering expressly that "the bishop of Constantinople should have the 'seniority of honor' after the bishop of Rome because Constantinople is New Rome." [28]

19. No one should have any doubts about the significance and the crucial character of this canon for the entire Church.

The events which prevailed in the ecclesiastical affairs in the East from the First Ecumenical Synod of Nikaia until the second one at Constantinople are well known.

These events opened the way 'in deed' for what afterwards came to be instituted 'in right' and showed that the regulations and texts which define them do not precede the historical events, but quite the contrary, that with the course of time the events and conditions which are lived out from within are transformed into formulations and statutes which become accepted to the extent that they respond to the prevailing order in the Church as viewed by common consciousness and acceptance.

20. Hence, by the phrase of "seniority of honor," which the holy Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Synod instituted, they simply recognized and sanctioned the prevalent situation of the Church in the East, prompted by the existing ecclesiastical position of the bishop of Constantinople in the East, but also with a view to the demands of the times on the hierarchical structure of the Church in the East within the whole system of the one, holy catholic and apostolic Church.

21. In such a divinely inspired perspective, the decision of the Second Ecumenical Synod in Constantinople concerning the throne of Constantinople was not just a simple gesture of honor, but a distinction for leadership.

But it was a recognition of the hierarchical situation already existing in church practice in the East, which has continued to this day always in conjunction and communion with the whole Church of Christ, within which the Church of Constantinople was called to offer witness, service and communion "for the needs of the saints," [29] "for the building up of the whole body of Christ." [30]

22. This being the real state of affairs, the bishop of this city, by virtue of the third canon of this holy Ecumenical Synod and by the authority of the duty to serve, prescribed to him thereby, was called from time to time to undertake certain initiatives not by his own will, but by deriving from the letter and the spirit of the cannon in order that he might become, as indeed he became, a regulating factor in the application and consolidation of the ecclesiastical order.

23. There is no need to elaborate upon these points, for they speak for themselves.

Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μόνον, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ, ὅτι οἱ θεόπνευστοι Πατέρες, τῆς Β´ Οἰκουμενικῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Συνόδου, ἐν τῇ εὐρυτέρᾳ προοπτικῇ αὐτῶν, ὄντως ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐτάκτου ἱεραρχικῆς δομῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπεφήναντο, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ἐκκλησίας ἄσκησις τοῦ χρέους τούτου εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀποβλέπει, εἰμὴ μόνον εἰς τὴν συνοχὴν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ συνοχῇ ταύτῃ ἀναδομὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ πλήρει αὐτῆς ἑνότητι, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς Μιᾶς καὶ Ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας.

24. Ἡμεῖς ὥς τε Μετριότης ἡμῶν, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Νέας Ρώμης καὶ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης, καὶ ὡς οἱ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς Ἁγίαν καὶ Ἱερὰν Σύνοδον συγκροτοῦντες Μητροπολῖται, τὴν ἀπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ Νεκταρίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς Ἁγίων Ὀρθοδόξων Πατέρων καὶ Ἱεραρχῶν πίστιν μὲν καὶ συνέχειαν ὡς πρὸς τὸ παρελθὸν ἐκφράζοντες, τὴν ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης χριστιανικὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ εὐχὴν διὰ τὸ μέλλον τῆς Χριστιανωσύνης διατυποῦντες, ἀπολύομεν, ἐπὶ τῇ 1600ῇ ἐπετείῳ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήσεως τῆς Ἁγίας Β´ Οἰκουμενικῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Συνόδου, τὴν παροῦσαν Πατριαρχικὴν καὶ Συνοδικὴν ἡμῶν Ἐγκύκλιον Ἐπιστολὴν εἰς διακήρυξιν τῶν ἃ πρεσβεύει ἡ κατ᾽ Ἀνατολὰς Ἁγιωτάτη Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία τῷ κόσμῳ παντί, ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος καὶ εἰρηνεύσαντος ἡμᾶς τῷ Θεῷ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ὧ ἡ δόξα, σὺν τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Ἐν Φαναρίῳ, τῇ 12ῃ Μαρτίου τοῦ σωτηρίου ἔτους ͵αϡπα´.

† Ο ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτων ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Χαλδίας Κύριλλος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Σάρδεων Μάξιμος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Ροδοπόλεως Ἱερώνυμος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Φώτιος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Σταυρουπόλεως Μάξιμος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Μύρων Χρυσόστομος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Εἰρηνουπόλεως Συμεὼν ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Πριγκηποννήσων Καλλίνικος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Δέρκων Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης
† Ὁ Φιλαδελφείας Βαρθολομαῖος ἐν Χριστῷ εὐχέτης

This alone we say, that our Church of Constantinople, falling in line with the spirit of those God-bearing Fathers who instituted this canon and considered the holiest and supreme benefit of the Church, from time to time has exercised and acted upon the holy duty of service which was laid on her by this Ecumenical Synod; and she will in no way refrain from continuing to render this service always in the context and light of the spirit of the statutes of this holy Ecumenical Synod.

24. And this we say only in order to bear witness that the divinely inspired Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople in their wider perspective truly declared in favor of the orderly hierarchical structure of the Church, and that the exercise of this duty by our Church has no other aim except the cohesion of Orthodoxy and the rebuilding of the Church of Christ in her full unity, according to the tradition of the one undivided Church.

We, our Moderation, the Archbishop of Constantinople and New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch, as well as the metropolitans who comprise the holy and sacred Synod, expressing the faith and continuity with the past, which comes from Gregory the Theologian, Nektarios of Constantinople, and the Holy Orthodox Fathers and hierarchs with them, and placing them on this Christian hope and prayer for the future of Christianity, do release, on the 1600th anniversary of the convocation of the holy Second Ecumenical Synod at Constantinople, this present patriarchal and synodal encyclical as a declaration of what is professed by the most holy Orthodox Church in the East to the whole world, upon which we call the grace and the operation of the All-holy Spirit for salvation and in love and peace of humanity, through him who loved us and made our peace with God, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit throughout the ages. Amen.

At the Phanar, on the 12th of March of the saving year 1981.

† DEMETRIOS, Patriarch of Constantinople, suppliant in Christ
† Meliton of Chalkedon, suppliant in Christ
† Kyrillos of Chaldia, suppliant in Christ
† Maximos of Sardes, suppliant in Christ
† Ieronymos of Rodopolis, suppliant in Christ
† Photios of Imvros and Tenedos, suppliant in Christ
† Maximos of Stavroupolis, suppliant in Christ
† Chrysostom of Myra, suppliant in Christ
† Symeon of Eirenoupolis, suppliant in Christ
† Gabriel of Kolonia, suppliant in Christ
† Kallinikos of Pringeponnesos, suppliant in Christ
† Konstantinos of Derkoi, suppliant in Christ
† Bartholomaios of Philadelphia, suppliant in Christ

NOTES

1. 1 Rev 15.3.
2. 1 Tim 2.4.
3. Acts 20.28.
4. Chrysostom, *On Holy Pentecost,* Homily 1.1.3-4, PG 50.459.
5. Jn 16.13.
6. Theodoros Anagnostes, Τεμάχια Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας, PG 86.225. Cf. Stephanos Diakonos, "Life of Stephen the Younger," PG 100.1144.
7. «Προσφωνητικὸς πρὸς Θεοδόσιον», Mansi, 3.557.
8. Rufinos, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1.1.217-18; PL 21.467, "ex sacerdotum sententia...."
9. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.6.205; PG 82.1208.
10. «Προσφωνητικός», Mansi, 3.557.
11. Theodoretos, 5.9.214; PG 82.1217. Cf. the *Sixth Canon* of the Second Ecumenical Synod, Ralles and Potles, Σύνταγμα Ἱερῶν Κανόνων, (Athens, 1852) 2, p. 182.
12. Saint Basil, *On the Holy Spirit*, 30.77ff.; PG 32.213-16.
13. Gregory the Theologian, *Carmina* 2.1, 5-6, 11; PG 37.1022-23, 1074. Cf. *Oration* 36, PG 37.125ff; Theodoretos, 5.9.209; PG 82.1213.
14. Saint Athanasios, Πρὸς Ἰοβιανὸν περὶ πίστεως, PG 26.216 and πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ ἐπισκόπους, ibid. 26.1032.
15. Saint Basil, *Against Eunomios*, 5.2; PG 29.753.
16. Scholion of Zonaras on this canon, Ralles and Potles, 2, p. 165.
17. Epiphanios, *Against Heresies*, 69; PG 42.289.
18. Ralles and Potles, 2, p. 165.
19. Gregory the Theologian, Ἐπιστολὴ 102; PG 37.193.
20. Mansi, 7.108ff.
21. "Epistle of Those Who Gathered Together in Constantinople (in 382) to Damasos, Ambrosios...," Mansi, 3.585; Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.9.211; PG 82.1217.
22. "Letter of Flavianos of Constantinople to Theodosios II," Mansi, 6.535.
23. Ibid. 6.956-57.
24. Cf. Zeno, *Henotikon*, A.D. 482.
25. *Canon Seven*, Ralles and Potles, 2, p. 200; Mansi, 5.308ff.
26. Mansi, 7.108, 117.
27. Saint Photios, *Letters*, I. Valetas, ed. (London, 1864) pp. 191-92.
28. Ralles and Potles, 2, p. 173.
29. Rom 12.13.
30. Eph 4.12.

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

TOWARD THE CONVOCATION OF THE SECOND ECUMENICAL SYNOD

Ecclesiastical history is the history of the *ecclesia*, a community held together by the same principles of faith, ethics, and worship of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Though oriented toward an eternal world, the *ecclesia* lives in the present world, and its life is conditioned by the currents, trends, problems, strengths and weaknesses of contemporary history. Obviously, early ecclesiastical history needs to be studied in its Greco-Roman political, intellectual, cultural, linguistic, and social milieu. Therefore, I approach my assignment from a broad historical perspective, and I shall seek to discuss precisely and briefly what things happened before the convocation of the Second Ecumenical Synod, limiting my explanations of why to those factors which are clearly discernible.

The fourth century of our era was a period of transition and tension between change and continuity. It was a time of revolutionary events which affected the political, social, and spiritual life of centuries to come. The rise of the Christian Church was the most important fourth-century event. Following its triumphant exodus from the catacombs, in which it was confined for nearly ten years during the persecution of Diocletian and Galerius, the Church was menaced by enemies from within. The loss not only of its peace and unity, but also its integrity and credibility was threatened.

There is little doubt that morally and quantitatively the Church emerged strengthened from Diocletian's persecutions. The courage of Christian martyrs and confessors impressed non-Christians. The Church received back many of the lapsed, who had asked for readmission, and numerous new converts. A hundred years earlier it had gone almost unnoticed. Dio Cassius, for example, the Greek historian from Bithynia, who became a Roman senator and wrote a history of the Roman Empire up to 229, does not even mention Christianity. Christians, of course, had been the concern of Roman governors such as Pliny from as early as Trajan's reign.[1] Whatever the reasons for Cassius' silence, the fact is that three generations later, Christianity was adopted by emperors and, even more astonishing, some fifty years later in 392 it became the state religion.

The Edict of Toleration and the conversion of Constantine became catalytic events in the history of Christianity, but they also proved a double-edged sword for the Church, which multiplied in numbers and also increased in power and wealth. The freedom the Church gained threatened its unity and effectiveness. These effects are evident in both halves of the empire—the Greek-speaking East and the Latin-speaking West. Indeed, the enemies from within were the accumulation of power and wealth, and the growth of dissension, heresy and schism—nearly everything that the master of the Church had condemned. For example, late in the second century a leading professor of rhetoric in Rome received an annual salary of 25,000 denarii while a Christian bishop there received only 1,750 denarii. But, by the second half of the fourth century, conditions had reversed. Constantine's generous donations and numerous contributions from pious women of the aristocracy had made the bishop of Rome a very wealthy and powerful man. Even a bishop of a second-rate town was substantially better paid than professors of rhetoric, physicians, and most professional men.[2]

During the reign of Valentinian, only a few years before the convocation of the Second Ecumenical Synod in 381, the election of a pope caused major conflicts and even bloodshed. There were two candidates in Rome, Damasos and Ursinus and two contending factions. Both candidates campaigned vigorously. Ammianus Marcellinus, a reliable fourth-century historian, whose information is confirmed by ecclesiastical historians such as Sozomenos,[3] describes the conflict between the two candidates and their followers. Marcellinus writes that Agorius Praetextatus, "a senator of noble character and old-time dignity," who had traveled extensively and had served as governor of Achaia, was prefect of Rome in the 360s and had carefully observed developments among Christians there. He was appalled by their factionalism. Each one of the two candidates for the bishopric of Rome had his own supporters, and the two factions were engaged in bitter strife, which resulted in the intervention of the pagan city administration. In the Basilica of Saint Sicininus, where Christians assembled, 137 bodies of the slain were found in a single day.[4]

Why such a turbulence in Rome? Because of the benefits that each candidate expected to receive, because of the power and the wealth the see wielded. Ammianus Marcellinus adds that the conflict between Damasos and Ursinus, was quelled by Agorius Praetextatus, the pagan prefect of the city of Rome.[5] Damasos was elected pope and Ursinus was banished, but the ill reputation gained by the conflict survived and the Church in Rome suffered the consequences.

Emperor Valentinian, himself an earnest and tolerant Christian, was so disturbed by the way in which the piety of wealthy widows was exploited that in 370 he directed an edict to Pope Damasos prohibiting churchmen, including monks, from entering the houses of widows or unmarried women. The emperor declared void all gifts or legacies which churchmen received from them. His constitution included the following provisions:

> Ecclesiastics, ex-ecclesiastics, and those men who wish to be called by the name of Continents shall not visit the homes of widows and female wards, but they shall be banished by the public courts, if hereafter the kinsmen, by blood or marriage of the aforesaid women should suppose that such men ought to be reported to the authorities.
>
> We decree further that the aforesaid clerics shall be able to obtain nothing whatever, through any act of liberality or by a last will of those women to whom they have attached themselves privately under the pretext of religion.[6]

The power and the wealth that the Church of Rome accumulated in the fourth century were not irrelevant to its future development and claims. And the kind of problems that the Church faced in the two halves of the empire clearly reveals the nature of the two worlds of thought: the Roman in the West and the Greek in the East. It is evident here that the Roman imperial and legalistic disposition affected the Roman Church while dissension, intellectual debate, and the searching mind of the Eastern Church obviously reflect its Hellenic intellectual background. In the words of A.H.M. Jones, an outstanding authority on the period, "in general the Latin-speaking half of the Empire was less troubled by heresies than the East. Western Christians were not on the whole interested in the metaphysical controversies which produced so many dissident groups in the East."[7] Indeed, the reputation of the Church in the Greek East at this time suffered from dissensions, even though problems similar to those of Rome were not absent, especially from Alexandria.

Following the deliberations of the First Ecumenical Synod, debates as to whether Christ was *homoousios* or *homoiousios* with God the Father persisted vigorously. Athens, Miletos, Ephesos, and Akragas of the classical Greek world were superseded by Byzantium, Nyssa, Caesarea, Antioch, Alexandria, and Cyrene. In Christian Byzantium theological debates were what philsophical disputes had been in ancient Greece. These theological debates threatened the peace and unity of the Church.

In the second half of the fourth century, Gregory of Nyssa described the religious climate of Constantinople as one which reminded him of the philosophical atmosphere of ancient Athens. "Every place is full of those who are speaking of unintelligible things," he writes, "streets, markets, squares, and crossroads. I ask how many obols I have to pay and in answer they philosophize on the born or unborn; I wish to know the price of bread and one answers: 'The Father is greater than the Son.' I inquire whether my bath is ready and one says: 'The Son has been made from nothing.' "[8]

Struggle for wealth and power, disputes and divisions were the real problems of the Church–not paganism. The existence of these and other human frailties confirms that the rise of Christianity did not destroy the past, and the Church did not effect many radical changes. In the very age in which the Church appears triumphant, there were revivals of the classical past and even non-Christian innovations. There were "tenacious survivals, regroupings of traditional forces," which contributed to the intellectual tensions and the formulation of different doctrinal positions. Epiphanios of Cyprus relates that in 377 there were sixty Christian heresies and schisms, Philastrios of Brixia speaks of 128, while several years later Saint Augustine enumerated eighty-seven. It was a period of spiritual turmoil, of troubled people and urgent issues. The kind of intrigues, the false accusations against adversaries as related by the ecclesiastical historian Theodoretos, make the fourth-century history of the Church a sad story. He indicates that some Christians with an uncertain or inquistive mind were forced to heresy, while others were led to heresy and schism by their own ambition and love of glory. There was a lack of brotherly love from many sides.[9] But this is only one aspect of the whole picture.

The fourth century was also a period of vigorous theological creativity, of brilliant minds, and selfless servants in the Church and in society. There were many signs of a vital faith expressed in words and in deeds. The early Church had offered "a drastic experiment in social living," and from the very beginning it was in both theory and practice an egalitarian society in which no distinction existed between Greek or Jew, slave or free man. By the early century, the Christian community of Rome had among its members a powerful freed man as the emperor's chamberlain, a bishop who was the former slave of that freed man. Marcellinus, the historian who criticized Damasos and Ursinus, was able to praise provincial bishops "whose moderation in food and drink, plain apparel also, commend them to the Eternal Deity and to his true servants as pure and reverent men."[10]

Perhaps the best testimony to the vitality of the Church in society comes from an enemy of the Church, Emperor Julian, who not only acknowledged but also urged pagan priests to imitate their Christian colleagues in works of love and human concern. Julian was impressed by the practice of Christian philanthropy toward strangers, orphans, widows, and the sick, the Church's concern in regard to the burial of the dead, and its dignified attitude toward the life of the less fortunate. Whether in order to eliminate or imitate the influence of the Church, or to revitalize paganism, Julian urged the high priest, Arsakios, and other pagan priests to imitate the most successful features of the Christian clergy. He ordered that *xenones*, that is, guest-houses with medical facilities, be established in every city of the empire and that he provide for the free distribution of wheat and wine to the poor. His humanitarian program in imitation of Christian *philanthropia* was not only an acknowledgement of the importance of philanthropy as an expression of piety, but also the best tribute to the Church's attempt to translate its faith into *diakonia*—service.[11] But back to the issues of the Church.

Amidst the turmoil of the period, the conflicts and the schisms, the crisis of conscience, what was the reaction and what contributed to the survival of the Orthodox Catholic Church? Many people, of course, sought their sanity in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor to the extent that the deserts became cities. Others, with a sense of humility and understanding of man's limitations, advised abstention from the controversies, turned introvert, and kept silent before the mystery of God. For example, Evagrios of Pontos used to advise: "In silence let us worship the incomprehensible."[12]

To be sure the Church as an organization exerted many efforts in order to preserve its unity. Between the First and the Second Ecumenical Synods, that is in the course of fifty-six years, fifty-three synods were assembled to deal with heresies and schisms (no less than eighty-one synods were held during the fourth century) as follows: in Antioch 330 and 332; Caesarea in Palestine 334; Tyre 335; Jerusalem 335; Tyanna 335; Constantinople 335 and 338; Alexandria 339; Rome 341; Alexandria 341; Sardica 343 (or 344); Antioch 340 and 341; Jerusalem 346; Alexandria 346; Carthage 345 and 348; Cologne 346; Sirmium 347 and 349; Milan 345 and 347; Sirmium 351; Rome 353; Arles 353; Milan 355; Biterrae (or Beziers) 356; Antioch 358; Ankyra 358; Sirmium 358; Seleucia 359; Rimini 359; Constantinople 360; Paris 360 and 361; Antioch 361 and 362; Alexandria 361 and 363; Antioch 363; Lampsakos 365; Nikomedia 366; Smyrna 366; Valence 374; Ankyra 375; Ikonion 376; Rome 369, 374, and 376; Antioch 378; Milan 380, and Saragossa in 380.[13]

The great number of synods summoned provoked the historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, to complain that the bishops, by moving from one synod to another, and by using the public transport service too freely, disorgainized it and made themselves a burden to the public treasury.[14] Of the fifty-three synods mentioned earlier, the following were convened either to condemn or to support Arianism, such as the Synod of Tyre in 335, Jerusalem in 335, Antioch in 339, Rome in 340, Antioch in 341, Sardica in 343, Antioch in 344, Sirmium in 351, Arles in 353, Milan in 355, the second and the third synods of Sirmium in 357 and 358, Rimini in 358, Seleucia in 358, Constantinople in 360, and Alexandria in 362.

Some of the provincial synods became easy instruments of Constantios who, pretending respect for the principle of the synodical system, used the synods for the promotion of his Arian beliefs. There were inconsistencies, retractions, and polemics. Not only synod opposed synod, but synods opposed themselves. For example the Synod of Antioch in 341 issued an Arian creed which was defended by the Synod at Milan in 355. The Synod of Sirmium in 351 sanctioned Arianism and it was repudiated by the Synod of Milan which ultimately retracted its condemnation of Arianism in order to agree with the decisions of the pro-Arian Synod of Antioch.[15] No provincial synod was successful in bringing the controversies to an end. No wonder that some Church Fathers realized more and more that only through divine intervention could the Church recover its unity and retain its integrity. Several prayers of the Liturgy of Saint Basil reflect the problems of the contemporary Church and society. In a prayer after the *epiklesis*, Saint Basil beseeched God "to cease the schisms of the Church, to extinguish the raging of nations, and by the power of the Holy Spirit to abolish rapidly the rising of heresies."[16]

It was not incidental that Basil prayed that schisms and heresies be defeated and the unity of the Church be preserved through the power of the Holy Spirit. The emphasis on, and the formulation of the doctrine on the Holy Spirit as a distinct hypostasis or person was a fourth-century development.

The belief that the Holy Spirit was God was widespread in the early Church, but there was little theological interest in defining his nature and his relation to God. Occasionally, the Spirit was identified with the Son. Sometimes the Spirit was perceived as Christ's agent. Throughout the New Testament and apostolic times, the Spirit was increasingly seen as the bestower of gifts, spiritual and intellectual, as the power that inspired the prophets and the apostles and the guide to the understanding of the Holy Scripture. In the Gospel of John in particular, the Spirit's mission lies in the future, taking Christ's place upon his ascension (Jn 14.15; 15.26). In the book of Acts emphasis is placed on the Spirit's operation in the Church. In the Apostolic Synod of Jerusalem in A.D. 52, it was the Holy Spirit that guided the apostles in their deliberations.[17] Later, in the writings of some Fathers, the term Holy Spirit was employed to express God's presence among his people.

The first serious articulation against the Holy Spirit as a separate hypostasis in the Godhead came from the Monarchians, and Sabellios was the most important of them. In his desire to preserve the unity of God, Sabellios taught that as creator and ruler God is called Father, as redeemer he is called Son, as regenerator and sanctifier he is called Holy Spirit. But all three are one and the same God, one and the same divine person, who acts in three different ways. Sabellios was excommunicated and expelled from Rome, but Sabellianism found fertile ground in Egypt, where it was destined to influence Arios. The challenge of Arianism contributed to the first definition of the Holy Spirit. In one way or another all the heresies condemned by the Second Ecumenical Synod were related either directly or indirectly to Arianism. Some of them, such as those of the Sabellians and the followers of Paul of Samosata, antidated Arianism. The first doctrinal canon of the Synod reads as follows:

> The holy Fathers assembled in Constantinople have determined to confirm the faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who met in Nicaea, Bithynia; to uphold the authority of that council and to anathematize every heresy—especially and specifically that of the Eunomians, including that of the Eudoxians, and that of the semi-Arians, including that of the Pneumatomachs, and that of the Sabellians, and that of the Marcellians, and that of the Photinians, and that of the Apollinarians.[18]

The First Ecumenical Synod formulated the Church's faith in the Holy Spirit very briefly. It said only "We believe in the Holy Spirit." Fifty-six years later, the Second Ecumenical Synod defined faith in the Holy Spirit as follows: "We believe . . . in the Holy Spirit, the life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshiped and glorified, who spoke through the prophets."

Even though the *praktika* of the Second Ecumenical Synod have not survived, with the exception of the statement of faith and seven canons, it is to be understood that the synod's convocation was necessitated by more than theological disputes. Whether in Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch or Jerusalem, the Church faced many doctrinal and canonical problems. Among its achievements we should include the election of three canonical patriarchs and the settlement of the vexing problem of order and primacy of honor among the bishops of the leading cities.

But what led to the more elaborate reformulation of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit? Long before the Edict of Toleration, Christian theologians were concerned with the unity of God and also with man's unity with God, and this became possible with the acceptance of Christ as "God of true God" as well as "perfect... and truly man." It was for this reason that Christology had long preoccupied the mind of the Church while Pneumatology as theoretical speculation, discussing the nature of the Holy Spirit, his relation to God the Creator and Christ the Redeemer, had received little theological attention. But by the middle of the fourth century, following the deliberations of the Nicene Synod, belief in the Holy Spirit as a separate hypostasis was practically established.

There were several factors that contributed to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. For example, the development of liturgical worship, and the emphasis placed on the descent of the Holy Spirit on the elements of the Eucharist contributed to the growth of theological interest in the nature of the Holy Spirit.[19] The Greek intellectual climate of the period provided the grounds for the Pneumatological theology that emerged.

Neoplatonism inspired a need for a theology expressing the closeness of God. It is through the Spirit that the visible and the invisible are interconnected; it is through the Spirit that the inexpressible inner world articulates itself to the outside world. God as Father and Christ the God-man were perceived anthropomorphically. The Holy Spirit, as unconfined spirit, is all encompassing and universal, and belief in the Spirit created a sense of intimacy between the divine and the human. As breath or wind, the Spirit pervades and fills man and nature, the physical and the metaphysical, and is transcendent and immanent at the same time. The doctrine concerning the incarnation of the eternal Logos and the teaching of the perpetual presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church were necessitated by the need to see the divine and the human interwoven. "It is the Spirit that imparts *theognosia* and transfers the God from on high down to earth" in the words of Gregory the Theologian.[20] There is little doubt that the dispute pertaining to the Holy Spirit was an extension of the disputes over Arianism, which treated the Holy Spirit as it had treated the Son. For the Arians, the Spirit was a creature different from Father and Son, God and man. The followers of this brand of Ariansims became known as the *tropikoi pneumatomachoi* and became aggressive propagators.

It was after the year 360 that the doctrine pertaining to the Spirit became a subject of acute controversy. Makedonios, twice patriarch of Constantinople, became the leader of thirty-six bishops, who while they maintained against the Arians their belief in the full divinity of the Son, denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The chief theologians opposing the *pneumatomachoi* were Saint Athanasios and the Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory the Theologian, and Gregory of Nyssa. Basil's theology on the Holy Spirit laid the intellectual ground for the decision of the Second Ecumenical Synod, which condemned the *pneumatomachoi* and decreed the divinity of the Holy Spirit. It needs to be said, however, that what contributed to their disappearance was not only the decision of the synod but the anti-heretical and intolerant legislation of Theodosios I as well.

In February 380, soon after Theodosios I was proclaimed emperor, he issued from Thessalonike the edict *Cunctos populos*, through which he sought to bring order in the Church. He decreed that "equal homage ought to be rendered to God the Logos, and to the Holy Spirit, as to God the Father."[21] He proclaimed that only those who believed that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one godhead in equal majesty should call themselves Catholic Christians. The rest were declared heretics. Nearly a year later, from May to 30 July 381, the Second Ecumenical Synod was convened. Thus, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was formulated, and at least in theory the Trinitarian conflict had come to an end. The proceedings of the Second Ecumenical Synod is the topic of another speaker.

NOTES

1. E.G. Hardy (ed.), *Plinii Gaecilli epistolae ad Trianum imperatorum cum eiusdem responsis* (London, 1889) pp. 49-51.

2. A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1964) 2, pp. 894-904.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, 27.3, 12-15, tr. John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Mass., 1963-64) 3, pp. 19-21. Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.23.

4. Marcellinus, 27.3, 13; Jerome, *Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum*, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23:377: "Facite me Romanae urbis episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus."

5. Marcellinus, 27.9, 8.

6. Codex Theodosianus 16.2.20, tr. Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton, 1952; New York, 1967) pp. 443-44.

7. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 902.

8. Gregory of Nyssa, "Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti," PG 46.557.

9. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.29. For a perceptive discussion of the period, see Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (New York, 1971) and *idem, The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).

10. Marcellinus, 27.3, 15.

11. Julian, *Letters*, No. 22, *To Arsacius, High-Priest of Galatia*, tr. W.C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian* (London and New York, 1953-54) 3, pp. 67-73.

12. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.7.

13. See Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church* (Edinburgh, 1876) 2 vols.

14. Marcellinus, 21.16-18; cf. Theodoretos, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.23 where Athanasios condemned "many councils . . . all vain and useless . . . like theatrical representations . . . utterly powerless."

15. Hefele, *A History*, pp. 193-99.

16. Basil of Caesarea, *Λειτουργία*, ed. *Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Ἱερατικόν* (Athens, 1977) pp. 182-83: "*Παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν· σβέσον τά φρυάγματα τῶν ἐθνῶν· τὰς τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπαναστάσεις ταχέως κατάλυσον, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος*."

17. Acts 15.28.

18. G.A. Ralles and M.Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων* (Athens, 1852-1859) 2, p. 165.

19. Cf. J.W.C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church*, 4th ed. (London, 1963) p. 187.

20. Gregory the Theologian, *Ποιήματα Θεολογικά: Δογματικά, Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, 3-4, ed. Ignatios Sakkales, *Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου Ἅπαντα τὰ Ἔργα* (Thessalonikie, 1975-) 8, p. 258; cf. H. Cherniss, *The Platonism of St. Gregory of Nyssa* (Berkeley, 1930).

21. Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.4.

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